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MACHIAVELLI'S
HISTORY OF FLORENCE.

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THE HISTORY OF FLORENCE

BY

NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI

FROM THE TRANSLATION OF
"THE WORKS OF THE FAMOUS NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL"
PUBLISHED IN 1675

EDITED BY

HENRY MORLEY, LL.D.
EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

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INTRODUCTION.

NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI received in the year 1520, from Giulio de' Medici, the commission to write his *Istorie Fiorentine.* His Dedication of the completed work to Pope Clement VII. was written in 1527, the year of Machiavelli's death. This book has a place of honour in the history of Modern Literature, as the first work in which the Annal-writing of the Chronicler gave place to the more artistic shaping of a History that found in political societies of man the operation of first principles of life under varying social conditions. With simple grouping of details into coherent chapters, Machiavelli first shows how the shaping of Italian states, the making of modern Italy, produced conditions that affected from within and from without the public life of Florence. Then he begins in his second book the History of Florence herself, which he brings down to his own time, and closes with the death of Lorenzo de' Medici; natural end of an epoch in the History of Florence. Machiavelli's own age at that time was twenty-three.

The English version here given of Machiavelli's History is reprinted from the first complete translation of "The Works of the Famous Nicolas Machiavel, Citizen and Secretary of Florence. Written originally in Italian, and from thence newly and faithfully translated into English." London, folio, 1675. Twenty years later there was a second edition of this folio, and there was a third edition in 1720.

There had been a previous translation of "The Florentine Historie" by T. B. (Thomas Bedingfield) in 1594–5; and there was a later translation of the whole works by the Rev. Ellis

Farneworth, M.A., in two quarto volumes published in 1752, a year before the translator's death. Ellis Farneworth, son of a clergyman of the same name, died Rector of Carsington in Derbyshire. He had been a poor curate till 1758, and eked out by translation a scanty subsistence for himself and two sisters whom he supported. In 1754 he published the "Life of Sixtus V.," translated from the Italian of Gregorio Leti, and in 1758 a new translation from the Italian of Davila's "History of the Civil Wars in France." Then followed the two quarto volumes of his "Machiavelli" in 1762, of which there was a second edition in four volumes octavo in 1775.

Machiavelli himself was a master of style, and the best charm of his work could only be suggested in translation by a man of genius. Neither of our English translators of his Works was qualified to represent his literary power, and the translation here chosen has many faults. But, with all its defects, the English of the writer in the seventeenth century has a homely directness that gives it advantage over the weak diction of a translator living in the latter half of the eighteenth century. It is simpler and more idiomatic, though, no doubt, more careless. No change whatever has been here made in the wording, and very little in the spelling, nothing, or almost nothing, beyond a reinstatement of the letter *e*. This is invariably supplanted by an apostrophe in the suffix representing a past tense or participle, as "cry'd" for "cried," and in prefixes we have the Latin *in* for the French *en* in words that came into our language from the French. The placing of many parenthetical clauses between brackets instead of commas is an old custom that had more in it of help than hindrance to the reader. I have only substituted commas where there seemed to be a distinct reason for doing so. The old use of capitals in printing gave a real help to the eye. It was a mistake to let that fashion pass away. The long succession of small close upright parallel lines in Roman type, as in the words inn, limn, minute, which the vibration, say, of a railway train easily shakes together, tries the eye more than is commonly supposed, and in reprinting an old book its use of capital letters is too good a feature to be

neglected. In the spelling of names of places and persons,—as Ursino for Orsini, Furli for Forli,—I have often, but not always, reduced the words to their familiar modern form, reconciling, as far as might be, a desire to keep the form and colour of the old translation with consideration of those by whom, for the matter in it, his book will now be read and used. The original work is a great European classic. There is no translation of it that can take rank as an English classic. This is our seventeenth century translation, without a single substitution of one word for another, and with its accidental characters of spelling and punctuation for the most part left unaltered, but sometimes a little changed for the convenience and comfort of the reader.

Machiavelli was born at Florence on the 3rd of May 1469. He gave his life to Florence, and he died there on the 22nd of June 1527, aged fifty-eight. He came of a good family, which in course of time had supplied to Florence thirteen Gonfalonieri and fifty-three Priori. His father was a lawyer, and he himself, after liberal training, entered into the service of the State about six years after the death of Lorenzo de' Medici. Machiavelli began his service of the Signory after Lorenzo's eldest son, Piero de' Medici, for his too great concessions to Charles VIII. of France, had been expelled from Florence. A Republican Government had been restored, and under it Machiavelli first entered the public service. In July 1498 he became Chief Secretary to that Government—Secretary to the office of the Ten Magistrates of Liberty and Peace. Machiavelli was himself in Politics a philosophical Republican. In Religion he was a sound Christian and a philosophical Reformer, whose views found little sympathy in minds under the dominion of the Pope. He came to regard the Pope as the chief enemy to Christianity, to see in the authority usurped by Roman Priests a cause of the corruption of Christian life. His sympathy was rather with Savonarola, with the persecuted Albigenses. The Church was to him a Congregation. Its ministers were lay members who served in spiritual things; its excommunication was exclusion from no more than membership of a particular society, without any attendant pains and penalties in body

or estate. His ideal of a Church, allowance made for difference of time and of the surrounding influences that determined surface forms of thought and speech, was the ideal afterwards of Milton and of Locke. The strength of his republicanism Machiavelli drew from the study of the liberties of ancient Rome, before the days when Cæsar—whom he detested as a tyrant—grasped at empire.

As Secretary to the Republic, Machiavelli was sent upon missions to Louis XII. of France, to Cesar Borgia, to the Pope, and to Italian cities, and he came into close contact with the corruptions of Church and State in Italy. In August 1512 the Medici were restored to Florence. Piero had then been eight years dead. Heads of the house were Piero's second brother, Cardinal Giovanni, who became Pope Leo. X.; his youngest brother, Giuliano; and his son Lorenzo, then about twenty-one years old. Giuliano and the young Lorenzo returned to Florence, and in 1513 Giovanni became Pope in Rome.

Upon the return of the Medici, Machiavelli lost the office he had held under the Republic. He was suspected, without cause, for his philosophical opinions, of complicity with a conspiracy against Giuliano and the young Lorenzo, was imprisoned in the Bargello, and was put to the torture, with four turns of the rack. He obtained release only by the amnesty granted next year, when the Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici became Pope Leo X. But he was banished from Florence, and lived for the next nine years with Marietta, his wife, and his five children, in quiet poverty, upon a small estate he had at Cascietta.

Let me repeat here what I have quoted in my Introduction to "The Prince" of Machiavelli's life at Cascietta, from a letter to his friend Francisco Vettore. He tells in it how he rose before the sun, spent two hours in a little wood of his that was being cut down to raise money, saw how the work went on for a couple of hours, and talked with the woodcutters, who had always some great dispute in hand. From the wood he would go to a spring, then to his bird-nets, with a book or two under his arm—Dante or Petrarch, Tibullus or Ovid. Having read with enjoyment, he would stroll to the tavern, talking with any whom he met, and

noting the different tastes and fancies of men. Then came dinner-time, and he ate what his little fields could afford, returned to the tavern, where he generally met the innkeeper, a butcher, a miller, and two oven-men, with whom he played at *cricca* and *trictrac*, over which they raised a thousand quarrels for a farthing, and shouted so that they might be heard at San Casciano. Thus he kept his head from troubling him, until at evening he went home, took off the muddy peasant's coat he wore by day, entered his study in decent dress, to be for four hours happy in companionship with the Ancients, and noting with his pen what he had learnt from them and from the world. This was the wicked Machiavelli, at the time within which he wrote the book which a good, matter-of-fact world still reads out of its context, with its eyes instead of through them. Another part of the same letter refers directly to the writing of "The Prince" in terms that are supposed to support the usual misunderstanding.

The three chief works of Machiavelli were his "Prince," his "Discourses upon Livy," and his "History of Florence." Taking his stand upon the history of Ancient Rome, Machiavelli's book that professed only to contain Discourses upon Livy, really followed "The Prince" with Thoughts upon the Constitution of a Commonwealth. It is the book which contains the fullest and the most direct expression of the actual opinions of Machiavelli, it is a context necessary to the understanding of "The Prince," and it is evident from these Discourses that "The Prince" was, in his mind, the antithesis to such a Republic as would satisfy desires of honest men. He closed with the "History of Florence," a true record of worthy aspirations painfully beset with the confusion bred of an imperfect civilisation wherein power is sought for the satisfaction of family ambition, for greed, for pride, for ends opposite to that general well-being which alone it should endeavour to advance. We have vivid pictures of the fury of blind faction among ignorant or greedy men. One politician in the power of his enemies is hung by his feet and torn to pieces, so that there remains only a part of one foot hanging in the cord. Machiavelli conveys clearly to his

reader the impression that the History of Florence made on his own mind. He guides opinion insensibly with philosophic touches that impress on us a shrewd and sound man's knowledge of the world. He sets forth the opinions of leading persons in the history by speeches put into their mouths, after the way of the best ancient models. He takes no side, he does not preach; he abounds in detail without suffering himself or his reader to be lost in it; he tells the truth so simply and so wisely that it does the work of truth and teaches. For his own part in the service of the city that he loved, had he been a corrupt politician he had opportunities of making himself rich while acting as Secretary to the Government; but he remained poor. He had four sons and a daughter to care for. He did not wish to fall under the hands of executioner or jailer. He did wish for means of honourable earning in the service of his country. If the tyrant he despised had given him employment as a public secretary, or attached him to embassies, he would have been in evil days, as in the better time, an honest man who could be trusted by the State. He wished to be employed again in Florence, and he had a right to wish it. Lorenzo, the corrupt son of Piero de' Medici, ruled Florence until 1519, and gave no help at all to Machiavelli. With how much scorn for his low judgment and low character Machiavelli conceived the notion of presenting to him the repulsive picture of what a tyrant must do who would be master of his country's liberties, and would confound all duties of a chief of men in the one object of self-aggrandisement, we can conceive. That men whom he had credited with better sense should think he was himself the monster that he painted, he could hardly have conceived. In the rest of the letter before quoted, Machiavelli said that he had been writing a treatise upon Principalities, their several sorts, how they are acquired, maintained, and lost. If his friend ever liked any of his scribbling, he would like this. It ought to please a Prince, especially a New Prince; so he was dedicating it to the Magnificence of Giuliano. Ought he to present it? He wasted in idleness, was growing miserably poor. He wished these Signori Medici would make some use of him though they only set him rolling a stone. It

would be his own fault if he did not win them afterwards. They would see from his book that he had not spent fifteen years idly in study of Statecraft, and everybody should be glad to use a man who had filled himself with so much experience at other men's expense. "I have always kept faith, and am not likely to change my nature. My poverty will show them I am loyal." Giuliano died in 1516, and Machiavelli dedicated "The Prince" to the most illustrious Lorenzo, son of Piero de' Medici, with note that "to know the nature of Princes one must be of the People."

But the book is more than a mere satire. Satire is not a word that will express its character. Machiavelli saw and felt the corruptions of the statecraft of his time, and could not avoid being touched by them for evil as for good. His most ardent desire as a politician was for the unity and independence of the State. His principle was patriotism; he was all for fatherland. He laboured against the use of mercenaries for defence, and sought to replace them with a citizen militia. Worst of evils was the domination of a foreigner; the rule of a domestic tyrant was to be preferred to that. A free Commonwealth, if it could be sustained among the conflicting passions, prejudices, and desires of men, was the best condition of political society. Anything might be done for the purpose of securing it. If that became impossible, there was no hope left but in the strong personal rule of a native Master. Anything might be done for the purpose of securing it. Outside these alternatives was nothing but the hard yoke of a foreign domination. Machiavelli was, in a corrupt society, a practical idealist. Principles of the robbers' cave governed the policy of princes. Among the people private quarrels grew to public feuds, and public feuds gave license to robbery and murder. No man saw more clearly than Machiavelli the fault in tools that were to shape the best form of political society. If he felt in "The Prince" like a political philosopher who was figuring the evils of a tyranny, there was more than a touch also of grim resolution in his setting forth of the damnable thing that they must take who, in that evil world, were unable to rule themselves, and sought to be delivered

from that hell of hells, the rule of a triumphant enemy. They are not wrong who find in Machiavelli's "Prince" more than an abstract satire. They are wrong only when they suppose that, for want of a due sense of what is just and right, he has taken evil for his good. To the highest sense of political justice, that can find no difference between private and political morality, Machiavelli did not attain. If that belief was in him, he did not uphold it in his writings. Even in our own time and country we have had a foreign policy denounced as immoral and defended by good men upon the ground that "this is not a question of morality, it is a question of high politics." Nearly all men would have thought that a sufficient justification at the beginning of the sixteenth century. May we dare hope that no man will think so when the world has worked its way on to the beginning of the twenty-sixth?

Lorenzo de' Medici died in 1519, without having employed Machiavelli. His uncle, Giovanni de' Medici, Pope Leo X., survived till 1521, and he recalled Machiavelli to Florence. Leo X. was followed for about a year by plain, honest Dedel of Utrecht as Adrian VI. In 1523 Giulio de' Medici became Pope as Clement VII., and entrusted rule in Florence to his nephew Alexander. Italy was in his time a battle-ground for the conflicting ambitions of Charles V. and Francis I. The King of France, on the 23rd of February 1525, was taken prisoner in the Battle of Pavia. The whole politics of Europe at large sank as low as that of the Italian cities. In May 1526 Pope Clement joined with France and Venice in a league against Charles V., the result of which was the sack of Rome and the imprisonment of Clement in the Castle of St. Angelo during the months immediately before Machiavelli's death on the 22nd of June 1527. By Clement VII., Machiavelli had been again employed on embassies; and it was this Pope who gave him, in 1520, with annual allowance of a thousand florins, the commission to write that History of Florence of which we have here a translation. It was inscribed to Pope Clement, with the following epistle :—

THE EPISTLE TO CLEMENT VII.

"Being commanded by your Holiness (whilst in a private condition) to write the History of Florence, I addressed myself to it with all the art and diligence wherewith Nature and Experience had endued me. Having deduced it to the times in which, upon the death of Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici, the whole Form and Model of Italy was altered, and being to describe the height and importance of what followed in a loftier and more vigorous stile, I judged it best to reduce what I had written till those times into one Volume, and present it to your Holiness, that you might at least have a taste of the Fruit you had sown yourself, and of my Labour and Cultivation. In the perusal of this Work your Holiness will see first to what ruine and convulsions our Country was exposed for many ages by the variations of Governments after the declension of the Roman Empire in the West. You will see how your Predecessors, the Venetians, the Kingdom of Naples, and the Dukedom of Milan took their turns of Empire and Sovereignty in this Province. You will see your own Country refusing obedience to the Emperors by reason of the divisions, and those divisions continuing till under the protection of your Family it began to settle into a Government. And because it was your Holiness' particular command that, in my character of your Ancestors, I should avoid all kind of flattery, true praise not being more pleasing to you than counterfeit is ungrateful; fearing in my description of the bounty of Giovanni, the wisdom of Cosimo, the courtesie of Piero, the magnificence and solidity of Lorenzo, I may seem to have transgressed your Holiness' direction, I do most humbly excuse myself, both in that and whatever else in my descriptions may appear unfaithful to your Holiness' dissatisfaction; for finding the Memoirs and Relations of those who in sundry ages made any mention of them, full of their commendations, I must either present them as I found them, or pass them by as if I envied them. And if (as some write) under their great and egregious exploits there was always some latent and ambitious design, contrary to the interest and liberty of the publick, I

know nothing of it, and am not bound to relate it: for in all my Narrations I never desired to cloak or palliate a dishonourable action with an honourable pretence; nor to traduce a good action, though to a contrary end. But how far I am from flattery is to be seen in the whole course of my History, especially in my Speeches and private Discourses, which do plainly, and without reservation, describe with the sentences and order of their language the dignity and humour of the persons. I avoid likewise in all places such words as are impertinent to the verity or reputation of History; so that no man who considers my Writings impartially can charge me with adulation; especially if he observes how little or nothing I have said of your Holiness' own Father, whose life was too short to discover him to the world, and I too downright to expatiate upon it. Nevertheless had he done nothing more but given your Holiness to the world, that very thing outweighs all the actions of his Ancestors, and shall leave more ages of honour to his family than his malevolent fortune took years from his life. I have endeavoured (most holy Sir) as far as might be done without blemish to the truth, to please all people, and it may so fall out I have pleased nobody. If it should, I should not wonder, seeing, in my judgment, it is impossible to write anything of our own times without offence to several. Yet I come forth cheerfully into the field, hoping that as I am honoured and employed by your Holiness' Goodness, I shall be defended by your Holiness' Judgment; and then with the same confidence and courage as I have writ now, I shall pursue my engagements if my life lasts, and your Holiness' continues amongst us."

The Epistle to Clement VII. was followed by Machiavelli's Introduction to the finished work:—

The Author's Introduction.

"When I first took upon me to write the History of Florence, and its Transactions both at home and abroad, I thought to have begun at the year 1434, at which time the Family of the Medici

(exalted by the merits of Cosimo and his Father Giovanni) was in greater authority than any other in that City; believing that Mess. Leonardo d' Arezzo and Mess. Poggio, two excellent Historians, had given particular description of all the passages before. But upon diligent perusal of their Writings to inform myself of their Orders and Methods, that thereby my own might have better approbation, I found that in their Narratives of the Florentine Wars and Foreign Negotiations, they had been accurate enough; but in their Civil Dissentions, their Intrinsic Animosities, and in the Effects which followed them, they were either totally silent, or where anything was mentioned, it was with such brevity and abruptness as could yield neither profit nor recreation to the Reader. Which I conceive they did, either out of an opinion that they were inconsiderable, and unworthy to be transmitted to Posterity, or else they apprehended a necessity of reflecting upon some Great persons, whose Family would be disobliged thereby; both which arguments, if I may speak it without offence, are beneath the grandeur and magnanimity of a Great person. For if anything in History be delightful or profitable, it is those particular descriptions; if anything be useful to such Citizens as have the Government in their hands, it is such as represents the feuds and dissentions in the Cities, that thereby they may be enabled to maintain their own unity at other people's expense. If the example of any Commonwealth moves a man, certainly that which is written of one's own makes a stronger impression; and if the Factions of any State were ever considerable, the Factions in Florence were not to be pretermitted. The greatest part of other States have not had above one, which sometimes has advanced and sometimes ruined the Government; but Florence has had many divisions. Everybody knows how in Rome, after the expulsion of their King, there arose division betwixt the Nobles and the People, which continued till one of them was oppressed. So it was in Athens, and all the Commonwealths which flourished in those times; but in Florence the first dissention was betwixt the Nobles, the next betwixt the Nobles and Citizens, and then betwixt the Citizens and the Plebs. In all which one was no sooner supe-

rior but it divided again; and the effects of those divisions were Murders and Banishments and Dispersion of Families, such as never occurred in any City that can be remembered. And truly, in my judgment, nothing demonstrates the power of our City so much as the consequences of those divisions, which were enough to have subverted and destroyed any other in the world. But ours grew still greater thereby. So remarkable was the courage of the Citizens, and so efficacious their industry for the advancement of their Country, that those few which survived the miseries of their Predecessors did more by their constancy and courage towards the advancement of their interest than the malignity of those accidents could do to depress it. And doubtless, had Florence been so happy, after it had freed itself from the Empire, to have assumed such a form of Government as would have preserved it in unity, I know not any Commonwealth, either ancient or modern, that would have exceeded it, or have been comparable to it, either in Riches or Power. For it is observable, after the Ghibilines were driven out of the Town in such numbers as all Tuscany and Lombardy were full of those Exiles, the Guelfs, and such as were left behind in the expedition against Arezzo (which was the year before the battel of Campeldino), were able to draw out of their own Citizens 1200 Horse and 12,000 Foot. And afterwards in the War against Philippo Visconti, Duke of Milan, being to try their fortune rather with their Riches than their Arms, which at that time were very much weakened, in five years' space (which was the length of that War) the Florentines expended five millions and five hundred thousand Florins; and when that War was composed, to ostentate and publish the power of that Commonwealth, they marched out with an Army and besieged Lucca. I do not see, therefore, for what reason these divisions should not be worthy of relation. And if those Noble Authors were restrained by fear of offending the memory of such as they were to speak of, they were mightily out, and seem not to have understood the ambition of mankind, and their desire to have the names of themselves and ancestors transmitted to posterity; nor did they remember that many people, not having opportunity to make

themselves eminent by good and laudable acts, have endeavoured to compass it by any way, how scandalous and ignominious soever. Neither did they consider that the actions which carry greatness along with them, as those of Governments and States, what ends soever they have, and which way soever they are described, do still leave more honour than infamy to their Family; the consideration of which things prevailed with me to alter my design, and to begin my History from the very foundation of the City. And because it is not my intention to transcribe what has been done before by other people, I shall relate such things only as occurred within the City to the year 1434, mentioning the accidents abroad only so far as will be necessary for the intelligence of the other; after which year I shall give a particular description both of the one and the other. Besides, for the better and more lasting understanding of this History, before I treat of Florence, I shall discourse of the means by which Italy fell under the dominion of those Potentates which governed it at that time: all which shall be comprehended in my Four first Books. The first shall give a short recital of all transactions in Italy, from the dissolution of the Roman Empire to the year 1434. The second shall give an account of all affairs from the foundation of the City of Florence to the end of the war against the Pope, which commenced upon the expulsion of the Duke of Athens. The third shall conclude with the death of Ladislaus, King of Naples. And in the fourth we shall end with the year 1434, from whence afterwards, to our present times, we shall give a particular Narrative of all proceedings both within the City and without."

Machiavelli's History of Florence, first published in 1532, was supplemented by a younger man, his friend Guicciardini, with an outspoken *Storia Fiorentina* that remained unpublished till the present century. Francesco Guicciardini was twelve or thirteen years younger than Machiavelli, and died twelve or thirteen years later, each of the great historians living to the age of fifty-eight. Guicciardini's place as a historian is next to that of Machiavelli. He also was a Florentine, but he prospered as a servant of the Medici, and served them at their worst. The Signory of Florence

appointed him when his age was but twenty-three a public reader of law; he distinguished himself as a pleader, and at thirty he was sent on an embassy from Florence to the Court of Spain. Three years later he was sent by Florence to meet Leo X. at Cortona. Leo, becoming his patron, made Guicciardini governor of Reggio and Modena in 1518, and of Parma in 1521. Clement VII., for whom Machiavelli wrote his History of Florence, made Guicciardini in 1523 Viceroy of Romagna, and in 1526 Lieutenant-General of his army, a Pope's eye where there was only ill to see, for Guicciardini held this office in the days of the sack of Rome and of Pope Clement's imprisonment in St. Angelo.

Short restoration of a Commonwealth in Florence was not friendly to the fortune of either historian. Machiavelli died, with his work done, and an ideal at the heart of it which was not the ideal of a warm enthusiast, although, while it gave a clear analysis of public life under conditions of an almost hopeless corruption, there was a touch in it of the Roman virtue. Guicciardini lived on, and three years after Machiavelli's death he was a servant of the Medici who celebrated in 1530 the final overthrow of liberty in Florence by proscription of the enemies to tyranny. Guicciardini was an active helper of the tyrant, Alessandro de' Medici, after whose murder it was chiefly Guicciardini who secured the election of the boy Cosimo as Duke of Tuscany. But Cosimo was a cold friend, and in 1534 Guicciardini retired, as Machiavelli had been forced to retire, to a country-house of his own, where he wrote his histories in peace during the rest of his life; that is to say, during a period of six years from 1534 to 1540. He was then withdrawn to his estate at Arcetri, a little disenchanted as friend of the Medici, and well taught that tyranny was of the meanest of things in the world he knew, a world whose policies differed from one another only in degrees of baseness. He was inclined to think an oligarchy the best form of government, if choice was between Rule of One, Rule of the Nobles, Rule of the People at large; but he considered that the best government, if it could be attained, would be the Mixed.

Guicciardini wrote his History of Italy, *Storia d' Italia*, which he brought down from 1494 to 1534, with much unacknowledged

use of Capella's Commentaries that covered the years from 1521 to 1530. He wrote without any design of publishing before he died. He tried to be impartial. He used in this History of Italy his rhetorical skill, laboured long periods, with many parentheses. He had not that independent mastery of style which has caused some to call Machiavelli the Dante of Italian prose. Guicciardini, like Machiavelli, imitated ancient histories by putting speeches into the mouths of his chief actors. Of this History of Italy, the first ten books were first published twenty years after his death, the rest later.

Other writings of his upon the History and the political constitution of Florence were a *Dialogo del Reggimento di Firenze*, the *Storia Fiorentina* already mentioned, and four hundred and three *Ricordi Politici e Civili*. He began also a Comment upon Machiavelli's "Political Discourses," and in these less laboured writings opened his mind as frankly as it was then in the power of an Italian well versed in public business to be frank. Religion then was poisoned at what claimed to be its fountain-head. Guicciardini was as absolute as Machiavelli in his condemnation of the Papacy. In the Comment upon Machiavelli's *Discorsi*, he said it would be impossible to speak so ill of the Roman Court that there would be no room left for more condemnation. "It is," he said, "an infamy; it is an example of all shames and scandals in the world."

From a translation of Guicciardini's "History of Italy" by the Chevalier Austin Parke Goddard, published in 1756, I add the description of the sack of Rome in May 1527,—a few weeks before the death of Machiavelli:—

"Bourbon with the Army, on the Fifth of May, encamped in the Meadows near Rome, and with the Insolence of a Soldier sent a Trumpet to the Pontiff to demand a Passage for himself and the Army through the City of Rome in their way to the kingdom of Naples. And the next Morning by Break of Day, resolved to die or conquer, as it was certain that he had but little other Hopes left of his Affairs, he drew near the Suburb on the Quarter

of Monte di Santo Spirito, and began a fierce Assault, Fortune having befriended him in approaching the Army the more securely by the Favour of a thick Fog, which, rising before Day, covered the Soldiers till they reached the Place where the Attack was made; in the Beginning of which Bourbon, pushing forwards at the very Front of the Troops, in the utmost Despair, not only because, if he did not obtain the Victory, he had no other Resource, but because he fancied the German Foot proceeded but coldly to the Assault, received a shot of a Harquebus, and fell dead on the Spot. His Death, however, was so far from cooling that it rather inflamed the Ardour of the Soldiers, who, after fighting with the greatest Vigour for the Space of Two Hours, entered at last the Suburb, being favoured not only by the extraordinary Weakness of the Fortifications, but by the bad Resistance of the Defendants, which last may serve, as well as many other like Instances, for a Demonstration to those who have not yet learnt to judge of present Events from past Examples, how great a Difference there is between the Valour of Men exercised in War and that of new Levies raised from a promiscuous Rabble, and of a popular Multitude; for part of the Roman Youth assisted at the Defence under their own Officers of the Militia, and the Banners of the People. Though many of the Ghibellins and of the Faction of the Colonnas wished, or at least not feared, Victory to the Imperialists, hoping that, out of respect to their Party, they should receive no Injury from them, which occasioned also a greater Coldness in the Defence, yet, as it is a difficult Matter to take Towns without Artillery, the Assailants had about One Thousand Men killed on the Spot. As soon as the Soldiers had opened themselves an Entrance, every one betaking himself to a precipitate Flight, and Multitudes running in Crowds to the Castle, the Suburbs were totally abandoned, and left a Prey to the Conquerors; and the Pontiff, who waited the Success in the Palace of the Vatican, having Notice that the Enemy was within the Walls, instantly fled, with many of the Cardinals, into the Castle. Here, holding a Consultation whether it were best to stay there or retire through Rome, escorted by the Light Horse of his Guards, to some Place of Security, being destined for

an example to shew what Calamities may befal Pontiffs, and also how difficult it is to extinguish their Authority and Majesty, on receiving Advice by Bernardo da Padoua, who had fled from the Imperial Army, of the Death of Bourbon, and that all the Troops, under a Consternation at the Loss of their General, were desirous to make an Agreement with him, he sent out to demand a Parley with their Heads, and unhappily laid aside all Thoughts of removing, he and his Generals being no less irresolute in providing for their Defence in the Castle than in setting out from thence to a place of more Safety. Wherefore the same Day the Spaniards, having found neither Dispositions nor Resolutions for defending the Quarter beyond the Tiber, entered the same without Resistance, from whence, with the like Ease, on the same Evening, an Hour before Night, by the Bridge of Sisto, they entered the City of Rome, where, except those who trusted in the Name of the Faction, and some Cardinals, who, because they had the Name of having followed the Party of Cæsar, believed themselves in greater Security than others, all the rest of the Court and of the City, as it happens in such dreadful Cases, was in Flight and Confusion.

"After they were entered, every one began to run in all Haste and Disorder to plunder, without the least regard not only to the Name of Friends and to the Authority and Dignity of Prelates, but also to Churches and Monasteries, to Reliques honoured with the Concourse of all the World, and to things consecrated. It would be impossible, therefore, to relate, and, almost, to conceive, the Calamities of that City, destined by the Decree of Heaven to the highest Grandeur, but also to frequent Destructions (for in the year 980 it had been sacked by the Goths), impossible to tell the greatness of the Booty, such was the Abundance of Riches and such the vast Quantities of rare and precious things of Courtiers and Merchants there accumulated. But it was yet more increased by the Quality and great Number of the Prisoners who were obliged to pay an extravagant Price for their Redemption; and, what was a further Augmentation of the Misery and Shame, many Prelates, taken by the Soldiers, especially by the Germans, who were so cruel and insolent out of Hatred to the Name of the Roman

Church, were set upon scrubby Beasts with their Faces backwards, in the Habits and Ensigns of their Dignity, and led about all Rome with the greatest Derision and Contempt. Many were most cruelly tormented, and either expired amidst their Torments, or were so miserably handled that they died within a few Days after they had paid their Ransom. There were killed in the Assault and in the Fury of the Sack about Four Thousand Men. The Palaces of all the Cardinals were plundered, except those Palaces for which were paid very large Sums of Money, to save the Merchants who had taken Refuge there with their Effects, as also the Persons and Effects of many others; and some of those which had been compounded for with the Spaniards were afterwards either plundered by the Germans or underwent a new Composition with them. The Marchioness of Mantoua compounded for her Palace at Fifty Thousand Ducats, which were paid by the Merchants and others who had fled thither; and it is reported that Don Ferrando, her son, had Ten Thousand Ducats for his Share. The Cardinal of Siena, devoted to the Imperial Name by ancient Inheritance from his Progenitors, after he had compounded for himself and his Palace with the Spaniards, was made a Prisoner by the Germans, and after his Palace had been plundered by them and himself carried into the Suburb, bareheaded and sorely buffeted, forced to redeem himself from them with Five Thousand Ducats. The Cardinals of Minerva and Ponzetta underwent almost the like Calamity, being taken Prisoners by the Germans, and, paying their Ransom, after they had been both of them first led about in a vile Manner all over Rome in Procession. The Spanish and German Prelates and Cardinals, imagining themselves secure from being injured by their own Countrymen, were taken, and treated with no less Severity than the others. You might hear the lamentable Cries and Shrieks of the Roman Women, and of the Nuns, hurried away to Bands of Soldiers to satiate their Lust; so that it might be truly said, Hidden to Mortals are the Judgments of God, who was pleased to permit the renowned Chastity of the Roman Women to fall by Force and Sacrifice to so great a Degree of Brutality and Misery.

All Places resounded with infinite Lamentations of those who were miserably tormented, some to constrain them to pay their Ransom, others to discover their secreted Effects. All consecrated Things, the Sacraments and the Reliques of the Saints, of which the Churches were full, were spoiled of their Ornaments and thrown about the Ground, with infinite Marks of Contempt from the German Barbarity; and what escaped the Hands of the Soldiers, which was mostly Things of the best Value, was afterwards carried away by the Peasants of the Colonnas that came into the Town, as did Cardinal Colonna himself, who arrived the next Day, and saved many Women who had fled to his House. It was reported that the Plunder in Money, Gold, and Silver Plate and Jewels amounted to about a Million of Ducats, but what was raised by Ransom made a yet much greater Sum.

"The same Day that the Imperialists took Rome, Count Guido, with the Light Horse and Eight Hundred Harquebusiers, arrived at Ponte di Salara, in order to enter Rome the same Evening; but understanding the Success, he retired to Otricoli, where he joined the rest of his Troops. For though he had received Letters from Rome which despised his Succours, he would by no means despise the Fame of being the man who had succoured Rome, and had therefore continued his March. And there were not wanting some, as it is the Nature of those who are kind and gentle Estimators of their own Actions, but severe Censurers of the Actions of others, who blame Count Guido for not being so wise as to discern a very fair Opportunity. For the Imperialists being all very intent on so rich a Prey, some in stripping the Houses, others in searching out Concealments, others in making Prisoners and securing them afterwards, were dispersed all over the City without any settled Quarters, without resorting to their Colours, and without paying any obedience to the Commands of their Generals. Hence many were of Opinion that if the Troops which were with Count Guido had been speedily conducted into Rome, they would not only have procured, by presenting themselves before the Castle, which was not besieged nor blockaded, the Deliverance of the Pontiff, but would have had an Opportunity

of performing a more glorious Exploit, the enemies being so busy about their Prey, that it would have been difficult, on any Occasion, to get together any considerable Number, especially as it is certain that some Days after, when, by Orders of the Generals, or on some Accident, an Alarm was given, not a Soldier appeared under his Colours. But Men often persuade themselves that if such a Thing had been done or not done there would have succeeded a certain Effect, whereas, if the Experiment might be tryed, such judgments would be oftentimes found fallible."

So ran the world when Machiavelli died.

THE HISTORY OF FLORENCE.

THE

HISTORY OF FLORENCE.

BOOK I.

To His Holiness Clement the Seventh,—

THE people which live Northward beyond the Rhine and the Danube, being born in a healthful and prolifick Clime, do many times increase to such unsustainable numbers, that part of them are constrained to abandon their Native, in quest of new Countries to inhabit. When any of those Provinces are overcharged, and disposed to disgorge, the Order they observe is, to divide into three parts, so equally that each of the three consists of a just proportion of Noble and Ignoble, Rich and Poor. After which they cast Lots, and that part to whose fortune it falls, marches off to new Quarters where they can be found, while the other two, disburdened of their supernumeraries, remain behind, and enjoy their own Patrimonies in peace. These inundations and redundancies of people were the destruction of the Roman Empire, to which the Emperors themselves gave great opportunity; for, having forsaken Rome, the ancient Seat of the Empire, and removed their Residence to Constantinople, they left the Western Empire more weak, as being more remote from their inspection, and by consequence more obnoxious both to their Governours and Enemies. And, indeed, for the destruction of an Empire founded upon the blood of so many brave men, there could not be less carelessness in the Princes, less treachery in the Ministers, nor less force and impetuosity in those who invaded: for one inundation being unable, several conspired, and at last effected its ruine.

The first from those Northern Countries who invaded that Empire (after the Cimbri, which were vanquished by Marius, a Citizen of Rome) were the Visigoti, or Western Goths, who, after some skirmishes and conflicts upon the Confines of the Empire, were, by concession of the Emperors, assigned and for a long time permitted quietly to possess a part of the Country along the Danube. And although upon several occasions, and at sundry times, they invaded the Roman Provinces, yet by the vigilance and power of the Emperors, they were always repelled. The last that overcame them so gloriously was Theodosius, who having subdued them to his obedience, they did not (as formerly) create themselves a King, but contented themselves with his Government and Pay; they submitted to both, and served him faithfully in his Wars. But Theodosius being dead, and his two Sons, Arcadius and Honorius, succeeding, not inheriting his Virtue and Fortune as well as his Crown, the Empire began to decline, and the times (as their Emperor) to grow worse and worse.

To the three parts of the Empire, Theodosius in his lifetime had preferred three Governors: Ruffinus to the East, Stilico to the West, and Gildo to the South; who all of them, after the death of Theodosius, despising the Title of Governors, resolved to make themselves Kings. Gildo and Ruffinus miscarried in their first Enterprise and were ruined. But Stilico being better at Hypocrisie than his Brethren, endeavoured to insinuate and work himself into a confidence with the Emperors, yet with design so to perplex and disturb their Affairs that he himself might afterwards with more ease leap up into the Saddle. To incense the Visigots and provoke them to mutiny, he counselled the Emperors to abate and retrench their former allowance; and least they should not be sufficient for the molestation of the Empire, he contrived that the Burgundi, Franchi, Vandali, and Alani (Northern people like the other, and in motion for new Quarters) should fall likewise upon the Roman Provinces.

The Visigoti, as soon as they found themselves retrenched, that they might be in better order to revenge it, created Alaricus their King, under whose conduct they assayled the Empire; and after several Rencounters and Accidents, they over-ran all Italy, and sacked Rome. Not long after, Alaricus died, and was

succeeded by Ataulfus, who, marrying Placidia the Emperor's Sister, Articled upon the Match, to assist in the Relief of France and Spain, which Provinces were at that time much infested by the Vandali, Burgundi, Alani, and Franchi upon the aforesaid occasion. Ataulfus undertook only the Vandali, who having possest themselves of that part of Spain called Betica, being pressed hard by the Visigoti, and distressed beyond all remedy, they were called over by Boniface (who at that time Governed Africk for the Emperors) to come and plant there, for those Provinces being then in rebellion, he was afraid his ill Administration might be discovered. This invitation and their own Exigence concurring, the Vandals embraced that Enterprize, and performed many memorable and brave things in Africk, under Gensericus their King.

In the meantime Theodosius the Son of Arcadius succeeded to the Empire, who, regarding but little the Affairs of the West, gave those Nations the first thoughts of fixing in their New Conquests. Accordingly the Vandali in Africk, the Alani and Visigoti in Spain, began to set up for themselves, and lord it over the Natives. The Franchi and the Burgundi not only over-run and possessed themselves of France, but according to the parts they possest they gave it their Names, one of them being called Franchia, and the other Burgundia. The success of their Comrades inviting new multitudes to the subversion of the Empire, the Hunni fell upon Pannonia (which is a Province upon the banks of the Danube), and giving it their Name, have denominated it Hungaria to this very day. Then, as an addition to the disorders, the Emperor finding himself attacked in so many places, to contract the number of his Enemies, he began first to treat and capitulate with the Vandals, then with the Franks, which Treaty increased the Authority of the Barbarians and diminished his own. Nor was the Island of Great Britain (called England at this day) exempt from its troubles: For the Britains, grown apprehensive of the people which had Conquered France, and not discerning which way the Emperor would be able to defend them, called in the Angli (a Nation in Germany) to their assistance. The Angli, under the Conduct of Vortiger their King, undertook their defence, and at first behaved themselves faithfully; afterwards, their Opportunity increasing with their Power, they

drove the Natives out of the Island, possessed themselves of it, and gave it their Name in commutation for its liberty. Being robbed of their Country and made Valiant by Necessity, though they were not able to recover their own, the Britains began to think of invading some other, and planting themselves there. In this Resolution they crossed the Seas with their whole Families and possessed themselves of those parts which lie upon the Coasts of France, and are called Britain to this day. The Hunns (who as was said before) had over-run Pannonia, being streightned and disturbed in their Quarters by other Nations, viz., the Zepidi, Heruli, Thuringi, and Ostrogoti (or Eastern Goths), they rose again and put themselves once more in motion for New Habitations. Not being able to force their way into France, which was at that time defended by the Barbarians, they fell into Italy under Attila their King, who not long before (to rid himself of a Partner in the Government) had slain Bleda his own Brother, and by that means made himself absolute. Andaricus King of the Zepidi, and Velamir King of the Ostrogoti, remained as his Subjects. Attila having in this manner made his inroad into Italy, he besieged Aquilegia, lay (without interruption) two years before it, wasted the Country round about it, and dispersed the Inhabitants, which (as we shall afterwards declare) was the occasion of building the City of Venice. After he had taken, sacked, and demolished Aquilegia and several other Towns, he advanced towards Rome, but forbore the destruction of it upon the intercession of the Pope, for whom Attila had so great a Reverence and Veneration, that upon his single persuasion he withdrew out of Italy into Austria, where he died. After Attila's death, Velamir King of the Ostrogoti, with the Commanders of other Nations, took up Arms against Tenricus and Eurius, Attila's Sons. One of them they killed, and forced the other with the Hunni back again over the Danube into their own Country: Upon which the Ostrogoti and Zepidi placed themselves in Pannonia, and the Heruli and Thuringi remained upon the Bank of the Danube.

Attila being departed out of Italy, Valentinianus, at that time Emperor of the West, had a design to repair that Empire; and for his Capacity of defending it with more ease and convenience against the irruptions of the Barbarians, he quitted Rome, and settled his Residence at Ravenna. The Calamities wherewith

the Western Empire had been oppressed, were the occasion that the Emperor residing at Constantinople, had many times transferred the possession of it to other people as a thing of great danger and expense, many times without the Emperor's permission; the Romans seeing themselves deserted, had created new Emperors in order to their defence; and sometimes other persons taking advantage of their own Interest and Authority, usurped, as it happened when Maximus, a Citizen of Rome, got possession of it after the death of Valentinianus, and forced his Widow Eudoxa to take him for her Husband; who desirous of revenge, and disdaining (being of Imperial extraction) the Embraces of so inferior a person, she invited privately Gensericus King of the Vandals into Italy, remonstrating the Easiness and Utility of the Conquest; who, allured by the Prize, was without much difficulty perswaded. He entered Italy with his Army, marched up to Rome, found it abandoned, sacked it, and continued in it fourteen days; after which he took and plundered several other Towns, and having laden both himself and his Army with the Spoil, he returned into Africk. The Romans returning (upon his departure), Maximus being dead, they made Avicus (a Roman) Emperor. After many occurrences both within Italy and without, and the death of several Emperors, the Empire of Constantinople fell into the hands of Zeno, and the Empire of Rome (by Stratagem and Artifice) to Orestes, and Augustulus his Son, who, preparing to defend it by force, were invaded by the Heruli and Thuringi (placed, as we said before, upon the Banks of the Danube) Confederate for that Expedition under the Command of Odoacres, their General. Of such places as they had thought good to baulk and leave empty, the Lombards possessed themselves, a Northern Nation like the rest, and Commanded by Godoglio their King, which were the last People that plagued Italy, as shall be shown in its place. Odoacres having made his way into Italy, he encountered, vanquished, and slew Orestes near Pavia, but Augustulus got off. After this Victory, that the Title might change with the Government, Odoacres caused himself to be called King of Rome, and was the first Chieftain of those Nations (which at that time over-ran the whole World) that thought of fixing in Italy; for (either suspecting their abilities to keep it, by reason of the easiness and facility wherewith it might be relieved by the Emperor

of the East, or for some other secret cause) the rest had ravaged and plundered it, but they always retired, and sought out other Countreys for their Establishment and Plantation.

In those days, the ancient Empire of Rome was reduced under these Princes. Zeno, Governing in Constantinople, Commanded the whole Empire of the East: The Ostrogoti Commanded Mœsia: The Visigoti, Pannonia: The Suevi and Alani, Gascoigne and Spain: The Vandali, Africa: The Franchi and Burgundi, France: The Heruli and Thuringi, Italy. The Kingdom of the Ostrogoti was devolved upon a Nephew of Velamir's, called Theodoric, who retaining an Amity with Zeno Emperor of the East, writ him word, that his Ostrogoti being in valour superior to other Nations, they thought it unjust and unreasonable to be inferior in Territory and Command, and that it would be impossible for him to confine them within the Limits of Pannonia: That being therefore necessitated to comply, and suffer them to take up Arms in quest of New Countreys, he could do no less than give him timely advertisement, that he might provide against the worst, and if he pleased assign them some other Countrey, which by his Grace and Favour they might inhabit with more Latitude and Convenience. Whereupon Zeno, partly out of fear, and partly desirous to drive Odoacres out of Italy, directed Theodoric against him, and gave him that Countrey for his pains, when it was his fortune to catch it. Theodoric accepts the Proposition, removes from Pannonia (where he left the Zepidi his Friends), and marching into Italy, slew Odoacres and his Son, called himself King of Rome by his Example, and made Ravenna his Residence, upon the same Reasons as had prevailed before with Valentinian. Theodoric was an excellent person both in War and Peace: In the first he was always Victor, in the last a continual Benefactor, as that City and that Nation experimented often. He divided his Ostrogoti into several Countreys, appointing Governours over them, that might Command in time of Wars, and Correct in time of Peace. He enlarged Ravenna, and repaired Rome, and restored all its Privileges, except its Military Discipline. Without any noise or tumult of War, by his own single Wisdom and Authority, he kept all the Barbarian Princes (who had Cantonized the Empire) in their just bounds. He built several Towns and Castles between the Adriatick Sea and the Alps, to obstruct

any new Incursion by the Barbarians; and had not his many Virtues been sullied and eclipsed towards his latter end by some Cruelties he committed upon a jealousie of being deposed (as the deaths of Symmachus and Boëtius, both of them virtuous men, do sufficiently declare), his Memory would have been this day as honourable as his Person was then: for by his Virtue and Bounty, not only Rome and Italy, but all the rest of the Western Empire was freed from the continual Conflicts, which for so many years it endured by the frequent irruption of the Barbarians, and reduced into good Order and Condition. And certainly if any times were ever miserable in Italy and those Provinces which were over-run by the Barbarians, they were the times betwixt the Reigns of Arcadius and Honorius and his. For if it be considered what inconveniences and damage do generally result to a Commonwealth or Kingdom upon alteration of Prince or Government, especially if effected not by foreign force, but civil dissention; if it be observed how fatal the least Changes prove to Commonwealth or Kingdom how potent soever, it may easily be imagined how much Italy and other Provinces of the Roman Empire suffered in those days, losing not only their Government, but their Laws, Customs, Conversations, Religions, Language, Habits, and even their Names; the thoughts of any one of which things (without so great an accumulation) would make the stoutest heart to ache, much more the seeing and feeling of them.

And as this was the destruction, so it was the foundation and augmentation of many Cities. In the number of those which were ruined was Aquileia, Luni, Chiusi, Popolonia, Fiesole, and many others. Among those which were new built were Venice, Siena, Ferrara, l'Aquila, and several other both Towns and Castles, which for brevity sake I omit. Those which from small beginnings became great and considerable, were Florence, Genoa, Pisa, Milan, Naples, and Bologna, to which may be added the ruine and reparation of Rome, and several other Cities which were demolished and rebuilt. Among these devastations and inroads of new people there sprang forth new Languages, as is visible by what is used both in France, Spain, and Italy, which being mixt with the Language of their Invaders and the ancient Roman, is become new, and clear another thing to what it was before. Besides not only the Provinces lost their Names, but particular

places, Rivers, Seas, and Men; France, Italy, and Spain, being full of new Appellatives, quite contrary to what they were of old; as the Po, Guarda, and Archipelago, for Rivers and Seas; and for Men, instead of Cesar and Pompey, they began to be called Peter, John, Matthew, &c. But among all these Variations, the changing of their Religions was of no less importance: for the Custom and Prescription of the ancient Faith being in combat and competition with the Miracles of the New, many tumults and dissentions were created, which, had the Christian Church been unanimous and entire, would never have happened: But the Greek, the Roman, the Church at Ravenna being in contention, and the Heretick with the Catholick as furiously zealous, they brought great misery upon the world, as Africa can witness, which suffered more by their Arianism (which was the Doctrine of the Vandals) than by all their avarice and cruelty. Whilst men lived exposed to so many persecutions, the terror and sadness of their hearts was legible in their faces; for besides the multitude of calamities they endured otherwise, great part of them had not power to betake themselves to the protection of God Almighty (who is the surest refuge of all that are in distress), for being uncertain whither their devotions were to be directed, they died miserably without any.

Theodoric therefore deserved no small praise, who was the first which gave them respite from the multitude of their evils, and restored Italy to such a degree of grandeur in the thirty-eight years which he reigned there, that there was scarce anything to be seen of its former desolation: But when he died, and the Government devolved upon Atalaricus the Son of Amalasciunta his Sister, in a short time (the malice of their fortune being not exhausted as yet) they relapsed, and fell over head and ears into their old troubles again. For Atalaricus dying not long after him, the Kingdom fell into the hands of his Mother, who was betrayed by Theodate (a person she had called in to assist her in the Government). She being removed, and he made King, to the great dissatisfaction of the Ostrogoths, to whom that Usurpation had made him insufferably odious, Justinian the Emperor took courage, began to think of driving him out of Italy, and deputed Belisarius his General for that Expedition, who before had conquered Africa, driven out the Vandals, and reduced it under

that Empire again. Having first possessed himself of Sicily, and from thence passed his Army into Italy, Belisarius recovered Naples and Rome. The Goths, foreseeing their destruction, killed Theodate their King, as the occasion of all, and elected Vitegetes in his place, who after several Skirmishes was at length besieged and taken in Ravenna by Belisarius, who (not prosecuting his Victory as was expected) was called back by Justinian, and his Command given to Johannes and Vitalis, who were much short of him both in virtue and conversation; so that the Goths took heart, and created Ildovado their King, who was at that time Governour of Verona: and being killed shortly after, the Kingship fell to Totila, who beat the Emperor's forces, recovered Tuscany, and subdued the Governours of all those Provinces which Belisarius had reduced. Upon which misfortune Justinianus thought it necessary to send him again into Italy; but returning with small Force, he rather lost what he had gained before, than acquired any new reputation. For Totila (whilst Belisarius lay incamped with his Army at Ostia) besieged Rome, and took it as it were under his Nose; and then upon consideration that he could neither well keep nor relinquish it, he demolished the greatest part of it, forcing away the people, and carrying the Senators as Prisoners along with him, and taking no notice of Belisarius, he advanced with his Army into Calabria to encounter and cut off certain supplies which were sent out of Greece to reinforce him. Belisarius, seeing Rome abandoned in this manner, addressed himself to a very honourable enterprise, and entering the City, repaired the Walls with all possible celerity, and re-invited the Inhabitants when he had done. But fortune concurred not to the nobleness of his design: for Justinianus being at that time invaded by the Parthi, Belisarius was called back to repel the invasion. In obedience to his Master, he marched his Army out of Italy, and left that Province to the discretion of the Enemy, who seized again upon Rome, but used it not so barbarously as before, being wrought upon by the prayers of St. Benedict (a person very eminent in those times for his sanctity), he applied himself rather to repair than destroy it.

In the meantime Justinian had made a Peace with the Parthi, and resolving to send new Supplies into Italy, he was diverted by a new alarm from the Sclavi (another northern people), who had

passed the Danube, and fallen upon Illyria and Thrace: So that Totila had his full swing, and was in a manner in possession of all Italy. As soon as Justinian had conquered the Sclavi, and settled the Countries which they had invaded, he sent a new Army into Italy, under the conduct of Narsetes an Eunuch, a brave Captain, and of great experience in the wars. Being arrived in Italy, he fought, beat, and killed Totila, after whose death the remainder of the Goths retired into Pavia, and made Teia their King. On the other side, Narsetes, after his Victory, took Rome, and then marching against Teia, he engaged him about Nocera, defeated his Army, and slew him among the rest: By which disaster the very name of the Goths was well near extinguished in Italy, where they had reigned from the time of Theodoric to this Teia, full seventy years. But Italy was scarce warm in its Liberty when Justinianus died, and left his Son Justinus to succeed, who, by the counsel of his Wife Sophia, recalled Narsetes out of Italy, and sent Longinus in his place. Longinus, according to the example of his Predecessors, kept his Residence at Ravenna; in other things he digressed, and particularly by introducing a new form of Government in Italy, not constituting Governours in every Province, as the Goths had done before, but deputing a Captain in every City or other Town of importance, with the Title of Duke. Nor in this distribution did he show any greater favour to Rome than to the rest; for removing the Consuls and Senate (names which to that time had been sacred among them), he constituted a Duke, which he sent every year from Ravenna, and his Government was called the Dukedom of Rome. But he that more immediately represented the Emperor at Ravenna, and had the universal Government of Italy, was called Exarch. This division not only facilitated the ruin of Italy, but hastened it exceedingly, by giving the Lombards opportunity to possess it. Narsetes was much disgusted with the Emperor for calling him off from the Command of those Provinces, which by his own virtue, and effusion of his blood, he had acquired: And Sophia not thinking it injury sufficient to get him recalled, had given out contumelious words, as if she would make him spin among the rest of the Eunuchs. Whereupon, in great disdain, Narsetes encouraged Alboin King of the Lombards (who at that time governed in Pannonia) to invade Italy and possess it.

As was shown before, the Lombards were entered and had taken possession of such places upon the Danube as had been deserted by the Heruli and Thuringi, when Odoacres their King conducted them into Italy. They had continued there some time, till their Kingdom fell to Alboin, for a daring and courageous man, under whom passing the Danube, they encountered with Commodus King of the Zepidi (a people planted in Pannonia) and overcame him. Among the rest, Rosmunda, one of Commodus' daughters, was taken prisoner, whom Alboin took for his Wife, made himself Lord of her Country, and moved by the barbarousness of his nature, he caused a Cup to be made of her Father's Skull, and in memory of that Victory, drank out of it very often. But being called into Italy by Narsetes, with whom he had retained a friendship in his wars with the Goths, he left Pannonia to the Hunni (who, as we said before, returned into their own Country after the death of Attila), marched into Italy, and finding it so strangely cantonized and divided, he possessed (or rather surprized) Pavia, Milan, Verona, Vicenza, all Tuscany, and the great part of Flaminia, called now Romagna. So that presuming from the greatness and suddenness of his Conquests, all Italy was his own, he made a solemn feast at Verona, where much drinking having exalted his Spirits, and Commodus his Skull being full of Wine, he caused it to be presented to Rosamunda the Queen, who sat over against him at the Table, declaring (and that so loud she could not but hear) that at a time of such hearty and extraordinary mirth, it was fit she should drink one Cup with her Father. Which expression touching the Lady to the quick, she resolved to be revenged; and knowing that Almachilde, a young and valiant Lombard, had an intrigue with one of her Maids, she prevailed that she might personate her one night, and lie with him herself. Accordingly Almachilde being introduced upon a time into a very dark place, he enjoyed Rosamunda instead of her Maid. The business being done, Rosamunda discovered herself, told him what was passed; that now it was at his choice, whether he would kill Alboin, and enjoy her and her Kingdom, or be killed himself for vitiating his Wife. Almachilde had no fancy to be slain, and therefore chose the other proposition of killing his Master; but when they had killed him, they found themselves so far from acquiring the Kingdom, that they were

afraid of being made away by the Lombards, out of the affection they bare to the memory of Alboin; for which cause, packing up with all the Jewels and Treasure they could make, they marched off to Longinus at Ravenna, who received them honourably.

During these Troubles, Justinus the Emperor died, and Tiberius was elected in his place; but being employed in his wars against the Parthians, he was not at leisure to send relief into Italy. Which Longinus looking upon as an opportunity to make himself King of the Lombards, and of all Italy besides, by the help of Rosamunda and her Treasure, he imparted his design to her, and perswaded her to kill Almachilde, and take him afterwards for her Husband. She accepted the Motion, and having in order thereunto prepared a Cup of Poison, she gave it with her own hand to Almachilde as he came thirsty out of a Bath, who having drank off half, finding it work, and great convulsions within him, concluding what it was, he forced her to drink the rest, so that in a few hours both of them died, and Longinus lost all hopes of making himself King. In the meantime at a Convention of the Lombards at Pavia (which they had made their Metropolis) they created Clefi their King, who reedified Imola, that had been destroyed by Narsetes. He conquered Rimini, and in a manner all up as far as Rome, but died in the middle of his cariere. This Clefi behaved himself so cruelly, not only to Strangers, but even to the Lombards themselves, that the edge of their monarchical inclination being taken off, they would have no more Kings, but constituted Thirty, they called Dukes, to govern under them. Which Counsel was the Cause the Lombards extended not their Conquests over all Italy, nor dilated their Dominion beyond Benevento, Rome, Ravenna, Cremona, Mantua, Padua, Monfelice, Parma, Bologna, Faenza, Furli, Cesana; some of them defended themselves for some time, others never fell at all under their subjection. For having no King, they were first rendered unapt for the Wars; and when afterwards they reassumed their old Government, and created Kings again, the small relish and taste the people had had of Liberty rendered them less obedient to their Prince, and more contentious among themselves, and not only put a stop to the cariere of their Victories at first, but was the occasion afterwards that they were driven out of Italy. Things being in this posture with

the Lombards, the Romans and Longinus came to terms with them, and it was agreed that Arms should be laid down on all hands, and each enjoy what was in their proper possession.

About this time the Bishops of Rome began to take upon them and to exercise greater authority than they had formerly done. At first the Successors of St. Peter were venerable and eminent for their Miracles and the holiness of their Lives; and their examples added daily such numbers to the Christian Church, that to obviate or remove the Confusions which were then in the world, many Princes turned Christians, and the Emperor of Rome being converted among the rest, and quitting Rome, to hold his residence at Constantinople, the Roman Empire (as we have said before) began to decline, but the Church of Rome augmented as fast. Nevertheless, until the coming in of the Lombards, all Italy being under the dominion either of Emperors or Kings, the Bishops assumed no more power than what was due to their Doctrine and Manners. In Civil Affairs they were subject to the Civil Power, employed many times by the Emperors and Kings, as their Ministers; and many times executed for their ill Administration. But Theodoric King of the Gothi fixing his Seat at Ravenna, was that which advanced their interest and made them more considerable in Italy; for there being no other Prince left in Rome, the Romans were forced for Protection to pay greater Allegiance to the Pope. And yet their Authority advanced no farther at that time, than to obtain the Preference before the Church of Ravenna. But the Lombards having invaded and reduced Italy into several Cantons, the Pope took the opportunity, and began to hold up his head. For being as it were Governor and Principal at Rome, the Emperor of Constantinople and the Lombards bare him a respect, so that the Romans (by mediation of their Pope) began to treat and confederate with Longinus and the Lombards, not as Subjects, but as Equals and Companions; which said Custom continuing, and the Popes entering into Alliance sometimes with the Lombards, and sometimes with the Greeks, contracted great reputation to their dignity. But the destruction of the Eastern Empire following so close under the Reign of the Emperor Heracleus, in whose time the Sclavi (a people we mentioned before) fell again upon Illyria and over-ran it, and called it Sclavonia, from their own

Name. The other parts of that Empire being infested first by the Persians, afterwards by the Saracens, out of Arabia, under the Conduct of Mahomet, and last ot all by the Turks, and having lost several Provinces which were members of it, as Syria, Africa, and Egypt: the Pope lost the convenience of the Emperor's protection in time of Adversity, and the power of the Lombards increasing too fast on the other side, he thought it but necessary to address himself to the King of France for assistance; so that the Wars which hapned afterwards in Italy were occasioned by the Popes and the several inundations of Barbarians, invited by them; which manner of proceeding having continued to our times, has held, and does still hold, Italy divided and infirm.

But in my description of Occurrences betwixt those times and our own, I shall not enlarge upon the ruine of the Empire, which in truth received but little assistance from the Popes, or any other Princes of Italy, till the days of Charles the Eighth, but discourse rather how the Popes with their Censures, Comminations, and Arms, mingled together with their Indulgences, became formidable and reverenced, and how having made ill use both of the one and the other, they have lost the one entirely, and remain at the discretion of other people for the other. But to return to our Order. I say that Gregory the Third being created Pope, and Aistolfus King of the Lombards, Aistoltus, contrary to League and Agreement, seized upon Ravenna, and made War upon the Pope. Gregory not daring (for the reasons abovesaid) to depend upon the weakness of the Empire, or the fidelity of the Lombards (whom he had already found false), applied himself to Pepin the Second, who, from Lord of Austracia and Brabantia, was become King of France, not so much by his own Virtue, as by the Chivalry of his Uncle Pepin, and Charles Martel his Father. For Charles Martel being Governor of that Kingdom, gave that memorable defeat to the Saracens near Torsi upon the River Totra, in which above 200,000 of them were slain; upon the reputation of which Victory under the discipline of his Father, and his own deportment in it besides, Pepin was afterwards made King of that Kingdom; to whom, when Pope Gregory applied himself for Relief against the Lombards. Pepin returned Answer, that he would be ready to assist him, but he desired first to have

the honour to see him, and pay his personal respects. Upon which Invitation Pope Gregory went into France, passing through the Lombards' Quarters without any interruption, so great Reverence they bare to Religion in those days. Being arrived, and honourably received in France, he was after some time dismissed with an Army into Italy; which having besieged Pavia, and reduced the Lombards to distress, Aistolfus was constrained to certain terms of Agreement with the French, which were obtained by the intercession of the Pope, who desired not the death of his Enemy, but that he might rather be converted and live. Among the rest of the Articles of that Treaty, it was agreed, That Aistolfus should restore all the Lands he had usurped from the Church. But when the French Army was returned into France, Aistolfus forgot his Engagement, which put the Pope upon a second Application to King Pepin, who re-supplied him again, sent a new Army into Italy, overcame the Lombards, and possessed himself of Ravenna, and (contrary to the desire of the Grecian Emperor) gave it to the Pope, with all the Lands under that Exarchat, and the Country of Urbino, and La Marca into the bargain. In the interim Aistolfus died, and Desiderio, a Lombard, and Duke of Tuscany, taking up Arms to succeed him, begged Assistance of the Pope, with promise of perpetual Amity for the future; which the Pope granted, as far as the other Princes would consent. At first Desiderio was very punctual, and observed his Articles to a hair, delivering up the Towns as he took them to the Pope, according to his Engagement to King Pepin; nor was there any Exarchus sent afterwards from Constantinople to Ravenna, but all was Arbitrary, and managed according to the pleasure of the Pope. Not long after, Pepin died, and Charles his Son succeeded in the Government, who was called the Great, from the greatness of his Exploits. About the same time Theodore the First was advanced to the Papacy, and falling out with Desiderio, was besieged by him in Rome. In his exigence the Pope had recourse to the King of France (as his Predecessor had done before him), and Charles not only supplied him with an Army, but marching over the Alps at the Head of it himself, he besieged Desiderio, in Pavia, took him and his Son in it, sent them both Prisoners into France, and went in person to Rome, to visit the Pope, where he adjudged

and determined, *That his Holiness being God's Vicar, could not be subject to the Judgment of Man.* For which the Pope and People together declared him Emperor, and Rome began again to have an Emperor of the West; and whereas formerly the Popes were confirmed by the Emperors, the Emperor now in his Election was to be beholding to the Pope; by which means the power and dignity of the Empire declined, and the Church began to advance, and by these steps to usurp upon the Authority of Temporal Princes.

The Lombards had been in Italy 222 years, so long as to retain nothing of their original Barbarity but their name. Charles being desirous to reform Italy, in the time of Leo III. was contented they should inhabit and dominate the parts where they were born, which since then have been called Lombardy: and because the name of Rome was venerable among them, he appointed that part of Italy which was adjacent, and under the Exarchat of Ravenna, should be called Romagna. Moreover, he created his Son Pepin King of Italy, extending his Jurisdiction as far as Benevento; all the rest was continued under the dominion of the Grecian Emperor, with whom Charles had made an Alliance. During these Transactions, Pascal the First was elected Pope, and the Parish Priests in Rome, by reason of their propinquity and readiness at every Election to adorn their power with a more illustrious Title, began to be called Cardinals; arrogating so much to themselves, (especially after they had excluded the Voices of the people) that seldom any Pope was created but by them, out of their own number. Pascal being dead, he was succeeded by Eugenius the Second, of the Order of Santa Sabina. Italy being in this manner under the Authority of the French, changed its Form and Oeconomy in some measure; for the Pope having incroached upon the Temporal Authority, created Counts and Marquisses, as Longinus, Exarch of Ravenna, had made Dukes before. After some few, Ospercus, a Roman, succeeded to the Papacy, who, not satisfied with the uncomeliness of his Name, called himself Sergius, and gave the first occasion for the changing their Names, which has since been frequently practised at their several Elections. About this time Charles the Emperor died, and his Son Lodovic succeeded, yet not so quietly but that there arose so many and so great differences betwixt his Sons, that in

the days of his Grand-Children the Empire was wrested from his Family, restored to the Almans, and the next German Emperor was called Ainolfus.

Nor did Charles his Posterity by their dissentions lose only the Empire, but their Sovereignty in Italy likewise; for the Lombards resuming Courage, fell foul upon the Pope and his Romans, who, not knowing to whose protection to betake himself, was constrained to make Berengarius (Duke of Friuli) King of Italy. Encouraged by these Accidents, the Hunni (who at that time were planted in Pannonia) took heart, and invaded Italy, but coming to a Battel with Berengarius, they were overthrown, and forced back again into Pannonia, or rather into Hungaria, it being at that time called by their Name. At that time Romano was Emperor of Greece, who being General of his Army, had usurped upon Constantine, and forced the Government out of his hand; and because during these innovations, Apulia and Calabria (which, as I said before, had subjected themselves to that Empire) were then in Rebellion, enraged at their insolence, he permitted the Saracens to possess those Countreys, if they could gain them; who invading them thereupon, immediately subdued them, and attempted upon Rome. But the Romans (Berengarius being employed against the Hunni) made Alberigo, Duke of Tuscany, their General; by whose Valour their City was preserved, and the Saracens raising their Siege, retired, built a Castle upon the Mountain Gargano, and from thence lorded it over Apulia and Calabria, and infested all that part of Italy besides. Thus it was that Italy in those times was marvellously afflicted towards the Alps by the Hunni, towards Naples by the Saracens; and it continued in that Agony several years, under three Berengarij successively; during which time the Pope and the Church were under no less perturbation; having no refuge to fly to, by reason of the dissention among the Western Princes, and the impotence of the Eastern. The City of Genoa, and all its Territory upon the Rivers, were over-run by the Saracens, which, by the resort of multitudes (driven thither out of their own Country) was the foundation of the Grandeur of Pisa. These Accidents happened in the year DCCCCXXXI. But Ottone, Son of Enricus and Matilda, and Duke of Saxony, coming to the Empire, and being a man of great reputation for his Conduct and Prudence, Agabito the Pope addressed himself to

him, imploring his Assistance in Italy against the Tyranny of the Berengarij.

The States of Italy in those days were Governed in this manner. Lombardy was under the Jurisdiction of Berengarius the Third and Albertus his Son; Tuscany and Romagna under the Dominion of a Governour deputed by the Emperor of the West. Apulia and Calabria were part under the Greek Empire, and part under the Saracens. In Rome, two Consuls were created out of the Nobility every year, according to ancient Custom, to which a Prefect was added to administer Justice to the people. They had moreover a Counsel of Twelve, who provided Governours annually for all Towns under their Jurisdiction. The Pope had more or less power in Rome, and in all Italy, according as his favour was more or less with the Emperor, or other persons which were more potent than he. Ottone, to gratify his request, came into Italy with an Army, fought with the Berengarij, drove them out of their Kingdom (which they had enjoyed 55 years), and restored the Pope to his former dignity. Ottone had a Son, and a Grand-Child of his own Name, both which, one after the other, succeeded in the Empire, and in the time of Ottone the Third, Pope Gregory the Fifth was expelled by the Romans. Ottone undertook a new Expedition into Italy in his behalf, and having once again re-established him in his Chair, the Pope, to be revenged of the Romans, took from them the power of Creating the Emperors, and conferred it upon six German Princes: Three Bishops, Munster, Treves, and Colen; and Three temporal Princes, the Duke of Brandenburg, the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and the Duke of Saxony; and this happened in the year 1002.

After the death of Ottone the Third, Enrico Duke of Bavaria was created Emperor by the said Electors, and was Crowned twelve years after by Stephanus the Eighth. Enricus and Simeonda his Wife were eminent for their Piety, having as a Testimony of it built and endowed several Churches, and among the rest that of S. Miniato, near the City of Florence. In the year 1024 Enrico died, was succeeded by Corrado of Suevia, and he by Enrico II., who coming to Rome, and finding a Schism in the Church, and three Popes in being at the same time, he degraded them all, and causing Clement II. to be elected, was Crowned Emperor by him. Italy was then governed partly by the

People, partly by Princes, and partly by the Emperor's Ministers, the chiefest of which (to whom the rest did in all matters of importance refer) had the Title of Chancellor. Among the Princes, the most powerful was Gottifredus, Husband to the Countess Matilda, who was Sister to Enricus II. She and her Husband had the possession of Lucca, Parma, Reggio, and Mantua, with all that Country which is now called the Patrimony of the Church. The Popes at that time had no small trouble upon their hands, by reason of the ambition of the people of Rome, who having at first made use of the Papal Authority to free themselves of the Emperors, as soon as the Popes had taken upon them the Regiment of the City, and reformed things as they thought good themselves, of a sudden they became their Enemies; and they received more injury from the people, than from any other Christian Prince whatsoever, rebelling and mutining at the same time the Popes by their censures made the whole West to tremble; nor was the design of either of them less than to subvert the Authority and Reputation of the one and the other. Nicolas II. arriving at the Popedom, as Gregory V. had taken from the Romans the privilege of creating the Emperor, so he deprived them of their concurrence to the Election of the Pope, restraining it wholly to the suffrage of the Cardinals; nor contented with this, by agreement with the Princes which Governed at that time in Apulia and Calabria (for reasons which shall be mentioned hereafter), he forced all the Officers sent thither by the people, to assert their Jurisdiction, to pay allegiance to the Pope, and some of them he displaced.

After Nicolas was dead, there happened a great Schism in the Church: The Clergy of Lombardy would not yield obedience to Alexander II., who was chosen at Rome, but created Cadalo of Parma Anti-Pope. Enrico detesting the extravagant dominion of the Popes, sent to Alexander to resign, and to the Cardinals, that they should repair into Germany, in order to a new Election: so that he was the first Prince which was made sensible of the effects of their Spiritual Fulminations; for the Pope calling together a new Council at Rome, deprived him both of his Empire and Kingdom. Some of the Italians following the Pope's, and some of them the Emperor's party, was the foundation of that famous Faction betwixt the Guelfs and Ghibilins, in so much that for

want of foreign inundations by the Barbarians, they turned their Arms upon themselves, and tore out their own Bowels. Enrico being Excommunicated, was forced by his own Subjects to come into Italy, where bare-footed and upon his knees he begged his Pardon of the Pope, in the year MLXXX. Notwithstanding all this, not long after, there happened a new quarrel betwixt Enrico and the Pope; whereupon, provoked by a new Excommunication, he sent his Son Enrico with an Army, who by the Assistance of the Romans (whose hatred the Pope had contracted) besieged him in his Castle; but Roberto Guiscardo coming from Apulia to his relief, Enrico had not the courage to attend him, but raised his Siege and retired into Germany. However, the Romans continued obstinate, and Robert was forced to sack the Town, and reduce it to its ancient Ruins, from whence by several Popes it had been lately restored. And because from this Roberto, the Model of Government in the Kingdom of Naples did proceed, it will not (in my judgment) be superfluous to give a particular Narrative, both of his Country and Exploits.

Upon the differences betwixt Charlemain's Heirs (as is said before) a new Northern people called Normans took occasion to invade France, and possessed themselves of that part of it which is now called Normandy. Of this people, part went into Italy, in the time when it was infested by the Berengarii, the Saracens, and Hunns; settling in Romagna, and performing very valiantly in all those Wars. Of Tancred, one of the Princes of those Normans, were born several Sons, among which William called Ferabar and Roberto called Guiscardo were two. William arrived to be Prince, and the Tumults in Italy were in some measure composed. But the Saracens having Sicily entire, and daily invasions made upon Italy, William entered into Confederacy with the Princes of Capua and Salerno, and with Milorcus a Grecian (who by the Emperor of Greece was deputed Governour of Apulia and Calabria), to invade Sicily, and in case of Victory, it was agreed among them that both Prey and Country should be equally divided. The Enterprize was prosperous; they beat the Saracens, drove them out of the Country, and possessed it when they had done. But Milorcus causing more Forces to be transported privately out of Greece, seized the Island for the Emperor, and divided only the Spoil. William was not a little disgusted, but reserving his indignation for a more con

venient time, he departed out of Sicily with the Princes of Capua and Salerno; who having taken their leaves of him to return to their homes, instead of marching to Romagna, as he pretended to them, he faced about with his Army towards Auplia, surprized Malfi, and behaved himself so well against the Forces of the Emperor, that he made himself Master of most part of Apulia and Calabria, which Provinces at the time of Nicolas II. were governed by his Brother Roberto; and because he had afterward great contention with his Nephews about the inheritance of those States, he made use of the Pope's mediation, who readily complied, being desirous to oblige Roberto, that he might defend him against the German Emperor and the people of Rome; and it afterwards happened (as we have said before) that at the instance of Gregory VII. he forced Enrico from Rome, and suppressed the Sedition of the Inhabitants. Robert was succeeded by two of his Sons, Roger and William; to their Inheritance they annexed the City of Naples, and all the Country betwixt it and Rome; besides that, they subdued Sicily, of which Roger was made Lord. But William going afterwards to Constantinople, to marry that Emperor's Daughter, Roger took advantage of his absence, seized upon his Country; and elated by so great an acquest, caused himself first to be called King of Italy; but afterwards contenting himself with the Title of King of Apulia and Sicily, he was the first that gave Name and Laws to that Kingdom, which to this day it retains, though many times since, not only the Royal Blood, but the Nation has been changed; for upon failure of the Norman Race, that Kingdom devolved to the Germans; from them to the French; from the French to the Spaniards; and from the Spaniards to the Flemens, with whom it remains at this present.

Urban II., though very odious in Rome, was gotten to be Pope; but by reason of the dissentions there, not thinking himself secure in Italy, he removed with his whole Clergy into France. Having assembled many people together at Anvers, he undertook a generous Enterprize, and by a learned Oration against the Infidels, kindled such a fire in their minds, they resolved upon an Expedition into Asia against the Saracens, which Expedition (as all other of the same nature) was called afterwards Crociate, because all that went along with it carried a red Cross upon their Arms and their Cloaths. The chief Commanders in this Enterprize were

Gottofredi Eustachio, Alduino di Buglione Earl of Bologna, and Peter the Hermit, a man of singular veneration both for his prudence and piety. Many Princes and Nations assisted with their Purses, and many private men served as Voluntiers at their own charges. So great an influence had Religion in those days upon the Spirits of men, encouraged by the Example of their several Commanders. At first the Enterprize was very successful; all Asia Minor, Syria, and part of Egypt fell under the power of the Christians; during which War, the Order of the Knights of Jerusalem was instituted, and continued a long time in Rhodes, as a Bulwark against the Turks. Not long after the Order of the Knights Templars was founded, but it lasted not long, by reason of the dissoluteness of their manners. At sundry times after these things, upon sundry occasions, many accidents fell out, in which several Nations and particular men signalized themselves. There were engaged in this Expedition the Kings of England and France, the States of Pisa, Venice, and Genoa, all behaving themselves with great bravery, and fighting with variety of fortune, till the time of Saladine the Saracen; but his courage and virtue, improved by intestine differences among the Christians, robbed them of the glory they had gained at the first, and chased them out of a Country where for ninety years they had been so honourably and so happily placed.

After the death of Pope Urban, Pascal II. was chosen to succeed him, and Enrico IV. made Emperor; who, coming to Rome, and pretending great friendship to the Pope, took his advantage, clapt both him and his Clergy in prison, and never discharged them till they had impowered him to dispose of the Churches in Germany as he pleased himself. About this time Matilda the Countess died, and gave her Patrimony to the Church. After the deaths of Pascal and Enric, many Popes and many Emperors succeeded, till the Papacy fell to Alexander III., and the Empire to Frederick Barbarossa, a Suabian. The Popes of those days had many controversies with the people of Rome and the Emperors, which, till the time of Barbarossa, rather increased than otherwise. Frederic was an excellent Soldier, but so haughty and high, he could not brook to give place to the Pope. Notwithstanding he came to Rome to be crowned, and returned peaceably into Germany. But that humour lasted but little, for he returned shortly into Italy, to reduce some Towns in Lombardy, which denied him

obedience. In this juncture, Cardinal di S. Clemente (a Roman born) dividing from Pope Alexander, was made Pope himself by a Faction in the Conclave. Frederick the Emperor being then encamped before Crema, Alexander complained to him of the Anti-Pope: Frederick replied, That they should both of them appear personally before him, and that then, hearing faithfully what each of them could say, he should be better able to determine which was in the right. Alexander was not at all satisfied with the answer; but perceiving the Emperor inclining to the Adversary, he excommunicated him, and ran away to King Philip of France. For all that, Frederick prosecuted his Wars in Lombardy, took and dismantled Milan: which put the Cities of Verona, Padua, and Venice upon a Confederacy for their common defence.

In the meantime the Anti-Pope died, and Frederick presumed to create Guido of Cremona in his place. The Romans taking advantage of the Pope's absence, and the Emperor's diversion in Lombardy, had re-assumed something of their former authority, and began to require obedience in the neighbouring places which had been anciently their Subjects. And because the Tuscans refused to submit, they marched confusedly against them; but they being re-inforced by Frederick, gave the Roman Army such a blow, that since that time Rome could never recover its old Condition either for Populousness or Wealth. Upon these Events, Pope Alexander was returned to Rome, presuming he might be safe there, by reason of the animosity the Romans retained against the Emperor, and the employment his Enemies gave him in Lombardy. But Frederick postponing all other respects, marched with his Army to besiege Rome. Alexander thought it not convenient to attend him, but withdrew into Apulia to William, who upon the death of Roger (being next Heir) was made King. Frederick being much molested, and weakened by a Contagion in his Army, raised his siege, and went back into Germany. The Lombards which were in League against him, to restrain their Excursions, and streighten the Towns of Pavia and Tortona, caused a City to be built (which they intended for the Seat of the War), and called it Alexandria, in honour to Pope Alexander, and defiance to the Emperor. Guido, the new Anti-Pope, died likewise, and John (of Fermo) was chosen in his

room, who, by the favour of the Imperial party, was permitted to keep his Residence in Monte Fiascone, whilst Alexander was gone into Tuscany, invited by that people, that by his authority they might be the better defended against the Romans.

Being there, Ambassadors came to him from Henry King of England, to clear their Master's innocence in the death of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, with which he was publickly and most infamously aspersed. To enquire into the truth, the Pope sent two Cardinals into England, who (notwithstanding they found not his Majesty in any manifest guilt), yet for the scandal of the fact, and that he had not honoured the said Archbishop with the respect he deserved, they prescribed as a Penance, That he should call all the Barons of his Kingdom together, swear his Innocence before them, send 200 Soldiers to Jerusalem, to be paid by him for a twelvemonth, and himself follow in person with as great a power as he could raise, before three years were expired; that he should disannul all things passed in his Kingdom in prejudice to the Ecclesiastick liberty, and consent that any of his Subjects whatever should appeal to Rome, when, and as often as, they thought it convenient: all which Conditions were readily accepted, and that great Prince submitted to a Sentence there is scarce a private person but would scorn at this day.

But though his Holiness was so formidable to the Princes abroad, he was not so terrible in Rome; the people in that City would not be coaksed nor perswaded to let him live there, though he protested he would meddle no farther than Ecclesiastical matters; by which it appears, things at a distance are more dreadful than near at hand. In the meantime Frederick was returned into Italy, with resolution to make a new War upon the Pope; but whilst he was busie about his preparations, his Barons and Clergy gave him advertisement that they would all forsake him unless he reconciled himself to the Church; so that changing his design, he was forced to go and make his submission at Venice; and pacification being made, the Pope in the Agreement divested the Emperor of all the authority he pretended over Rome, and named William King of Sicily and Apulia his Confederate. Frederick being an active Prince, and unable to lie still, embarqued himself in the enterprize into Asia, to spend his ambition against the Turk, which he could not do so effectually against the Pope.

But being got as far as the River Cidno, allured by the clearness and excellence of the Waters, he would needs wash himself in it, and that washing gave him his death; those Waters being more beneficial to the Turks than all Excommunications to the Christians, for whereas these only cooled and asswaged his ambition, they washed it away and extinguished it quite.

Frederick being dead, nothing remained now to be suppressed but the contumacy of the Romans. After much argument and dispute about the creation of Consuls, it was concluded, the Romans, according to ancient custom, should have liberty to choose them; but they should not execute their Office till they had sworn fealty to the Church. Upon this accord John the Anti-Pope fled to Monte Albano, and died presently after. In the meantime, William King of Naples died also; and having left no Sons but Tancred, a Bastard, the Pope designed to have possessed himself of his kingdom, but by the opposition the Barons, Tancred was made King. Afterwards Celestin III. coming to the Papacy, and being desirous to wrest that kingdom from Tancred, he contrived to make Enrico (Frederick's Son) King, promising him the kingdom of Naples, upon condition he would restore such Lands as belonged to the Church; and to facilitate the business, he took Costanza (an ancient Maid, daughter to King William) out of a Monastery, and gave her him for his Wife; by which means the kingdom of Naples passed from the Normans (who had founded it), and fell under the dominion of the Germans. Henricus the Emperor having first settled his affairs in Germany, came into Italy with his Wife Costanza, and one of his Sons called Frederick, about four years of age, and without much difficulty possessed himself of that kingdom, Tancred being dead, and only one Child remaining of his issue, called Roger. Not long after Enricus died in Sicily, he was succeeded in that kingdom by Frederick; and Otto Duke of Saxony chosen Emperor by the assistance of Pope Innocent III. But no sooner had he got the Crown upon his head, but contrary to the opinion of all men, he became Enemy to the Pope, seized upon Romagna, and gave out Orders for the assaulting that kingdom: upon which being excommunicated by the Pope, and deserted by his Friends, Frederick King of Naples was chosen Emperor in his place. The said Frederick coming to Rome to be crowned,

the Pope scrupled it, being jealous of his power, and endeavoured to persuade him out of Italy, as he had done Otto before; which Frederick disdaining, retired into Germany, and making war upon Otto, overcame him at last. In the meantime Innocent died, who, besides other magnificent works, built the Hospital di Santo Spirito at Rome.

Honorius III. succeeded him, in whose Papacy were instituted the Orders of S. Dominic and S. Francis, in the year MCCXVIII. Honorius crowned Frederick, to whom John, descended from Baldwin King of Jerusalem (who commanded the remainder of the Christians in Asia, and retained that title), gave one of his daughters in marriage, and the Title of that kingdom in dower with her; and from that time whoever is King of Naples has that Title annexed. In Italy at that time they lived in this manner: the Romans had no more the creation of Consuls, but in lieu of it they invested sometimes one, sometimes more of their Senators with the same power. The League continued all the while, into which the Cities of Lombardy had entred against Frederick Barbarossa; and the Cities were these: Milan, Brescia, Mantua, with the greater part of the Cities in Romagna, besides Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Trevigi. The Cities on the Emperor's side were Cremona, Bergamo, Parma, Reggio, Modena, and Trenta: The rest of the Cities of Lombardy, Romagna, and the Marquisate of Trevisan took part according to their interest, sometimes with this, sometimes with the other party.

In the time of Otto III. one Ezzelin came into Italy, of whose Loins there remaining a Son, called also Ezzelin, being powerful and rich, he joined himself with Frederick II., who (as was said before) was become an Enemy to the Pope. By the encouragement and assistance of this Ezzelin, Frederick came into Italy, took Verona and Mantua, demolished Vicenza, seized upon Padoua, defeated the united Forces of those parts, and when he had done, advanced towards Tuscany, whilst in the meantime Ezzelin made himself master of the Marquisate of Trevizan. Ferrara they could not take, being defeated by Azzone da Esti and some Regiments of the Pope's in Lombardy. Whereupon when the Siege was drawn off, his Holiness gave that City in Fee to Azzone da Esti, from whom those who are Lords of it at this day are descended. Frederick stopped, and fixed himself at Pisa,

being desirous to make himself Master of Tuscany, and by the distinctions he made betwixt his Friends and his Foes in that Province, raised such animosities as proved afterwards the destruction of all Italy. For both Guelfs and Gibilins increased every day, the first siding with the Church, the other with the Emperor, and were called first by those Names in the City of Pistoia. Frederick being at length removed from Pisa, made great devastations and several inroads into the Territories of the Church; insomuch that the Pope having no other remedy, proclaimed the Croisada against him, as his Predecessors had done against the Saracens. Frederick (lest he should be left in the lurch by his own people, as Frederick Barbarossa and others of his Ancestors had been before), entertained into his pay great numbers of the Saracens; and to oblige them to him, and strengthen his opposition to the Pope, by a party that should not be afraid of his Curses, he gave them Nocera in that Kingdom, to the end that having a Retreat in their own hands, they might serve him with more confidence and security.

At this time Innocent IV. was Pope, who being apprehensive of Frederick, removed to Genoa, and thence into France, where he called a Counsel at Lyons, and Frederick designed to have been there, had he not been retained by the Rebellion of Parma. Having had ill Fortune in the suppressing of that, he marched away into Tuscany, and from thence into Sicily, where he died not long after, leaving his Son Corrado in Suabia, and in Apulia his natural Son Manfredi, whom he had made Duke of Benevento. Corrado went to take possession of the Kingdom, died at Naples, and left only one little Son behind him in Germany, who was called Corrado, by his own Name. By which means Manfred, first as Tutor to Corrado, got into the Government, and afterwards giving out that his Pupil was dead, he made himself King, and forced the Pope and Neapolitans (who opposed it) to consent. Whilst Affairs in that Kingdom were in that posture, many Commotions happened in Lombardy, betwixt the Guelfs and the Gibilins. The Guelfs were headed by a Legate from the Pope, the Gibilins by Ezzelin, who at that time had in his possession all that part of Lombardy on this side the Poe. And because while he was entertained in this War, the City of Padoua rebelled, he caused 12,000 of them to be slain, and not long after, before

the War was ended, died himself in the thirtieth year of his age. Upon his death, all those Countreys which had been in his hands became free. Manfredi King of Naples continued his malevolence to the Church, as his Ancestors had done before him, holding Pope Urban IV. in perpetual anxiety, so that at length he was constrained to invoke the Crociata against him, and to retire into Perugia, till he could get his Forces together: but finding them come in slowly and thin, conceiving that to the overcoming of Manfred greater supplies would be necessary, he addressed himself to the King of France, making his Brother Charles, Duke of Anjou, King of Sicily and Naples, and excited him to come into Italy to take possession of those Kingdoms. Before Charles could get to Rome the Pope died, and Clement V. succeeded in his place. In the said Clement's time, Charles with 30 Galleys arrived at Ostia, having ordered the rest of his Forces to meet him by Land. During his residence at Rome, as a Complement to him, the Romans made him a Senator, and the Pope invested him in that Kingdom, with condition that he should pay 50 thousand Florins yearly to the Church; and published a Decree that for the future neither Charles, nor any that should succeed him in that Kingdom, should be capable of being Emperors. After which Charles, advancing against Manfred, fought with him, beat him, and killed him near Benevento, thereby making himself King of Sicily and that Kingdom. Corradino (to whom that State devolved by his Father's Testament) gathering what Forces together he could in Germany, marched into Italy against Charles, and engaging him at Tagliacozza, was presently defeated, and (being afterwards discovered in his flight) taken and slain.

Italy continued quiet till the Papacy of Adrian V., who, not enduring that Charles should continue in Rome, and govern all (as he did) by vertue of his Senatorship, he removed to Viterbo, and solicited Rodolfus the Emperor to come into Italy against him. In this manner the Popes, sometimes for defence of Religion, sometimes out of their own private ambition, called in new Men, and by consequence new Wars into Italy. And no sooner had they advanced any of them, but they repented of what they had done, and sought immediately to remove him; nor would they suffer any Province (which by reason of their weakness they were unable themselves to subdue) to be enjoyed

quietly by anybody else. The Princes were all afraid of them, for whether by fighting or flying, they commonly overcame, unless circumvented by some Stratagem, as Boniface VIII. and some others were by the Emperors, under pretence of Friendship and Amity. Rodolfus being retained by his War with the King of Bohemia, was not at leisure to visit Italy before Adrian was dead. He which succeeded him was Nicolas III. of the House of Ursin, a daring, ambitious man, who resolving to take down the Authority of Charles, contrived that Rodolfus the Emperor should complain of Charles his Governor in Tuscany, of his siding with the Guelfs, who after the death of Manfred had been received and protected in that Province. To comply with the Emperor, Charles called away his Governor, and the Pope sent his Cardinal Nephew to take possession of it for the Emperor: to recompense that Kindness, the Emperor restored Romagna to the Church, which had been usurped by his Predecessors, and the Pope made Bartaldo Orsino Duke of Romagna. Growing more powerful by degrees, and believing himself strong enough to look Charles in the face, he began to expostulate, turned him out of his Senatorship, and published a Decree, that for the future no person of Royal extraction should ever be Senator in Rome. Not contented with this, he carried his Designs farther, and was in the mind to have driven Charles out of Sicily; to which end, he held secret intelligence with the King of Arragon, who effected it afterwards in the time of his Successor. He designed likewise to have made two Kings out of his Family, one of Lombardy, the other of Tuscany, by whose power and assistance the Church might be defended from the incursions of the Germans abroad, and the oppression of the French at home. But he dying before anything could be done, was the first Pope that gave so manifest demonstration of Ambition, or that, under pretence of advancing the Church, designed only to exalt and magnifie his own Family; and though from this time backward no mention is to be found of Nephew, or any other of his Holiness' Kindred, yet forward all History is full of them; and as formerly the Popes have endeavoured to leave them Princes, they would leave them Popes nowadays if they could, and make the Papacy hereditary.

But the Principalities they erected have been hitherto short-lived; for the Popes, seldom living long, the first gust of wind

shakes them, for want of their Authority and Courage to sustain them. This Pope being dead, Martin X. succeeded, who being born a Frenchman, was a friend to the French, and Charles (in the Rebellion of Romagna) sent an Army to his Assistance, who having besieged Forli, Guido Bonatti, an Astrologer, being in the Town, appointed the Garrison a certain time to sally upon them; and following his direction, they did it with such success that the whole French Army was either taken or killed. About this time the practices betwixt Pope Nicolas and Peter King of Arragon were put in execution; the Sicilians by that means killed all the French they found in that Island; and Peter made himself Lord of it, upon pretence it belonged to Constanza, Manfred's Daughter, whom he had married. But Charles, in his preparation for its recovery, died; left Charles II. his Son, at that time a Prisoner in Sicily, who, for his enlargement, promised to surrender himself again, if, in three years' time, he prevailed not with the Pope to invest the House of Arragon with the Kingdom of Sicily. Rodolfus the Emperor, instead of coming into Italy himself, to recover the reputation of the Empire, sent an Ambassador thither with full power to enfranchize such Cities as would buy out their Freedom: Upon which many Cities redeemed themselves, and changed their Laws with their Liberty. Adolfus Duke of Saxony succeeded in the Empire, and in the Popedom, Piero del Murone, by the Name of Pope Celestine; but having been a Hermit, and exceedingly devout, in six months' time he renounced, and Boniface VIII. was chosen in his room. The Heavens (foreseeing the time would come Italy should be delivered both from the Germans and French, and remain entirely in the hands of its Natives; that the Pope, though freed from foreign impediments, might not be able to usurp, and establish himself in the Power which he exercised then), raised up two great Families in Rome, the Colonni and the Ursini, that by their Authority and Alliance they might be able to circumscribe his Holiness, and keep him within his bounds. Pope Boniface was sensible of them, and applyed himself very zealously to have extirpated the Colonni, excommunicating them first, and then proclaiming the Crociata against them; which, though it might be some prejudice to them, was more to the Church. For those Swords which had been drawn in vindication of the Gospel, and done honourable things; when for

private ambition they were unsheathed against Christians, they lost their first sharpness and would not cut at all; and so it came to pass, their immoderate desire of satiating their Appetite by degrees lessened the Popes' power, and disarmed them.

Two of that House which were Cardinals he degraded; Sciarra (the chief of them) escaping in disguise, being discovered, was taken by the Spanish Privateers, and clapped to an Oar; but being known at Marseilles, he was rescued, and sent away to the King of France, who by Boniface was Excommunicated thereupon, and deprived of his Kingdom. Philip King of France, considering very well that in all open Wars with the Popes, he had either run some eminent danger, or come home by the loss, began to look about for some Artifice, and at length, pretending great readiness to comply, and counterfeiting a Treaty, he sent Sciarra privately into Italy, who having arrived at Anagnia (where at that time the Pope had his residence), gathering his Friends together in the night, he seized upon his Holiness, who (though enlarged afterwards by the people of the Town) died shortly in a Delirium with mere sense and indignation. This Boniface was the first Pope which ordained Jubilees, in the year MCCC., and decreed they should be celebrated every hundred years.

These times produced many troubles betwixt the Guelfs and the Ghibilins, and Italy being forsaken by the Emperors, many Towns recovered their liberties, and many were usurped. Pope Benedict restored their Caps to the Cardinals of the House of Colonni, absolved King Philip, and gave him his blessing. Benedict was succeeded by Clement V., who being a Frenchman, removed his Court into France, Anno MCCCVI. During these Transactions Charles II. King of Naples died, and left the Succession to Robert his Son. The Empire was in the meantime fallen to Henry of Luxemburg, who came to Rome to be crowned, though the Pope was not there; upon whose arrival many commotions followed in Lombardy, and all banished persons, whether Guelfs or Ghibilins, being restored to their former habitations, conspiring to supplant one another, they filled the whole Province with the calamities of War, notwithstanding the Emperor employed his utmost to prevent it. Henry removing out of Lombardy by the way of Genoua, returned to Pisa, with design to have driven King Robert out of Tuscany; but not succeeding in that, he marched

to Rome, but continued there a few days only, for the Ursini by the help of King Robert, forced him to remove, and he marched back again to Pisa, where, for his more secure warring upon Tuscany, and supplanting that King, he caused it to be assaulted on the other side by Frederick King of Sicily. But in the height of his designs, when he thought himself sure both of Tuscany and its King, he died, and the succession went to Louis of Bavaria.

About this time John XXII. was created Pope, in whose Papacy the Emperor ceased not to persecute the Guelfs and the Church; but King Robert and the Florentines interposing in their defence, great Wars ensued in Lombardy, under the conduct of the Visconti against the Guelfs, and against the Florentines in Tuscany, by Castruccio di Lucca. And because the Family of the Visconti were the original of the Dukedom of Milan, one of the five Principalities that governed all Italy afterwards, I think it not amiss to deduce it a little higher. After the League among the Cities in Lombardy (which I have mentioned before) for their mutual defence against Frederick Barbarossa, Milan being rescued from the ruin that impended, to revenge itself of the injuries it had received, entered into that Confederacy which put a stop to the Emperor's career and preserved the Church's interest in Lombardy for a while. In the process of those Wars, the Family of the Torri grew very powerful, increasing daily more and more, while the Emperor's Authority was small in those parts. But Frederick II. arriving in Italy, and the Ghibilin Faction (by the assistance of Ezzelin) prevailing, it began to dilate and spread itself in all the City, and particularly in Milan; the Family of the Visconti siding with that party, drove all the Family of the Torri out of that Town: But long they were not banished, for by an accord made betwixt the Emperor and Pope, they were restored. Afterwards, when the Pope removed with his Court into France, and Henry of Luxemburg came to Rome to be crowned, he was received into Milan by Maffeo Visconti, the Head of that House, and Guido della Torre, the chief of the other. Yet how kindly soever they carried it outwardly, Maffeo had a secret design, by the Emperor's being there, to drive out the Torri, believing the Enterprize the more practicable, because Guido was of the Enemy's Faction. He took the advantage of the people's complaints against the behaviour of the Germans, encouraging them slily to take Arms,

and rescue themselves from their barbarous servitude. Having disposed things as he desired, he caused a tumult to be raised by one of his Confidants, upon which the whole Town was to be in Arms, and pretendedly against the Germans. The tumult was no sooner begun, but Maffeo, his Sons, Servants, and Partizans were immediately in Arms, and ran to Henry, assuring him that tumult was raised by the Torri, who, not content with their private condition, took that occasion to ruin him as an Enemy to the Guelfs, and make themselves Princes of that City. But he desired him to be secure, for they and their party would not fail to defend him, whenever he required it. Henry believed all to be true that Maffeo had told him, joined his Forces with the Visconti, fell upon the Torri (who were dispersed up and down the City to suppress the tumult), killed those of them which they met, banished the rest, and seized their Estates: So that Maffeo Visconti made himself Prince. After him there succeeded Galeazzo and Azzo, and after them Luchino and John, who was afterwards Archbishop of that City: Luchino died before him, and left two Sons, Barnardo and Galeazzo; Galeazzo dying not long after, left one Son, called Giovan Galeazzo, Conti di Vertu, who, after the death of the Archbishop, killed his Uncle Barnardo, made himself Prince, and was the first that took upon him the Title of Duke of Milan. He left two Sons only, Philip and Giovan Maria Angelo, who being slain by the people of Milan, the Government remained wholly to Philip. He dying without issue Male, the Dukedom was translated from the House of the Visconti to the Sforzas; but of the manner and occasions of that hereafter. To return, therefore, where I left.

Louis the Emperor, to give reputation to his party, and to be formally Crowned, came into Italy, and being at Milan, to drain the City of its Money, he pretended to set them at Liberty, and clapped the Visconti in Prison. Afterwards, by the Mediation of Castruccio da Lucca, he released them, marched to Rome, and (that he might more easily disturb the tranquillity of Italy) he made Piero della Carvaro Anti-Pope: by whose reputation, and the interest of the Visconti, he presumed he should be able to keep under both the Tuscans and Lombards. But Castruccio died in the nick, and his death was the Emperor's ruin, for Pisa and Lucca rebelled out of hand. The Pisans took the Anti-Pope, and sent him Prisoner to the Pope into France, so that the Emperor de-

spairing of his Affairs in Italy, he left them all as they were, and retired into Germany. He was scarce gone, before John King of Bohemia came into Italy with an Army (being invited by the Ghibilins in Brescia) and possest himself both of that City and Bergamo. The Pope (however he dissembled it) was not averse to his coming, and therefore his Legat at Bologna favoured him privately, looking upon him as a good Antidote against the Emperor's return. These underhand practices changed the Condition of Italy; for the Florentines and King Robert, perceiving the Legat a favourer of the Ghibilin Faction, turned Enemies to all people that professed themselves their Friends. In so much as, without respect to either Ghibilins or Guelfs, many Princes associated with them; among the rest were the Families of the Visconti and Scala, Philippo di Gonzaga of the House of Mantua, the Families of Carrara and Este, whereupon the Pope Excommunicated them all. The King, apprehensive of their League, returned home to reinforce himself, and coming back with more Force into Italy, found his Enterprize very difficult notwithstanding; so that, growing weary of the business (though much to the dissatisfaction of the Legat), he returned into Bohemia, leaving Garrisons only in Modena and Reggio, recommending Parma to the Care of Marsilio and Piero de Rossi, who were eminent men in that City. As soon as he was departed, Bologna entered into the Confederacy, and the Colleagues divided the four Towns that were remaining to the Church among themselves, Parma to the Scali, Reggio to the Gonzagi, Modena to the Esti, and Lucca to the Florentines. But many differences followed upon that division, which for the greatest part were composed afterwards by the Venetians. And now I speak of the Venetians, it may appear indecorous to some people, that among all the occurrences and revolutions in Italy, I have deferred speaking of them, notwithstanding their Government and Power places them above any other Republic or Principality in that Country.

That that Exception may be removed, and the occasion appear, it will be necessary to look back for some time, to make their Original conspicuous, and the reasons for which they reserved themselves so long from interposing in the Affairs of Italy. Attila King of the Hunni having besieged Aquilegia, the Inhabitants after a generous defence, being reduced to distress, and despairing

of Relief, conveighing their Goods, as well as they could, to certain Rocks in that point of the Adriatick Sea which were not inhabited, they escaped after them themselves. The Padouans seeing the fire so near them, concluding when Aquilegia was taken, his next visit would be to them, sent away their Goods, Wives, Children, and unserviceable people to a place in the same Sea, called Rivo Alto, leaving the young men, and such as were able to bear Arms, for the defence of the Town. The Inhabitants of Montfelice, and the Hills about it, fearing the same destiny, removed to the same Islands. Aquilegia being taken, and Padoua, Montfelice, Vicenza, and Verona overcome and sacked by Attila's Army, those which remained of the Padouans, and the most considerable of the rest, settled their habitations in certain Fenns and Marshes about the aforesaid Rivo Alto: and all the people about that Province, which was anciently called Venetia, being driven out of their Country by the same Calamities, joyned themselves with them; changing (by necessity) their pleasant and plentiful Habitations, for rude and barren places, void of all Commodity and Convenience. But their number being great, and their Quarter but small, in a short time they made it not only habitable, but delightful; framing such Laws and Orders to themselves as secured them against miseries of their Neighbours, and in a short time made them considerable, both for reputation and force. So that, besides their first inhabitants, many people resorting to them from the Cities of Lombardy, upon occasion of the Cruelty of Clefi King of the Lombards, they multiplied so fast, that when Pepin King of France, at the solicitation of the Pope, undertook to drive the Lombards out of Italy, in the Treaties betwixt him and the Emperor of Greece, it was agreed that the Duke of Benevento and the Venetians should be subject neither to the one nor the other, but enjoy their Liberty to themselves. Moreover, Necessity having determined their Habitations among the Waters, having no Land to supply them, it forced them to look about which way they might live; and applying to Navigation, they began to trade about the World, and not only furnished themselves with necessary Provisions, but by degrees brought thither such variety of Merchandize that other people which had need of them came to them to be supplyed. At first, having no thoughts of Dominion, they were wholly intent upon what might facilitate their Trade, and in

order thereunto they acquired several Ports both in Greece and Syria, and in their passage into Asia the French making use of their Ships, they gave them, by way of Recompence, the Island of Candia. While they lived at this rate, their name was grown formidable at Sea, and so venerable at Land, that in most Controversies betwixt their Neighbours they were the only Arbitrators: as it happened in the difference betwixt the Confederates upon the division of the Towns, where the cause being referred to them, they awarded Bergamo and Brescia to the Visconti. But having afterwards in process of time conquered Padoua, Vicenza, Treviso, and after them Verona, Bergamo, and Brescia, besides several Towns in Romagna and elsewhere, their power began to be so considerable, that not only the Princes of Italy, but the greatest and most remote Kings were afraid to provoke them. Whereupon, entering into a Conspiracy against them, the Venetians lost all in one day that in so many Years and with so vast Expence they had been gaining; and though in our times they may have recovered it in part, yet not having regained their Reputation and Power, they live at the mercy of other people; as indeed all the Princes of Italy do.

Benedict XII. being Pope, looking upon Italy as lost, and fearing that Louis the Emperor should make himself Master of it, he resolved to enter into strict Amity with all those who held any Lands that belonged formerly to the Empire, presuming their fear to be dispossessed would make them faithful in the defence of Italy, and zealous to keep him out: accordingly he published a Decree to confirm all the usurped Titles in Lombardy, and to continue their Possession. But that Pope died before his promise could be made good, and Clement VI. succeeded him. The Emperor observing with what liberality the Pope had disposed of the Lands belonging to the Empire, that he might not be behind him in so generous a point, he gave all Lands that had been usurped from the Church to such persons as had usurped them, to hold them of the Empire as the other of the Pope. By which Donation Galeotto Maletesti and his Brothers became Lords of Rimini, Pesaro, and Fano, Antonio da Montefeltro of La Marca and Urbin, Gentil da Varano of Camerino, Giovanni Manfredi of Faenza, Guido di Polenta of Ravenna, Sinebaldo Ordelaffii of Forli and Cesena, Lodovico Aledosi of Imola, besides

many others in other places: so that of all the Lands which belonged to the Church, there was scarce any left without an Interloper; by which means, till the time of Alexander VI., the Church was very weak, but he recovered its Authority in our days, with the destruction of most of their Posterity.

At the time of this Concession the Emperor was at Taranto, where he gave out his Design was for Italy, which was the occasion of great Wars in Lombardy, in which the Visconti made themselves Lords of Parma. About this time, Robert King of Naples died, and left two Grand-Children by his Son Charles (who died not long before), leaving his eldest Daughter Giovanna Heir to the Crown, with injunction to marry Andrea, Son to the King of Hungary, who was his Nephew. But they lived not long together, before Andrea was poisoned by her, and she married again to Lodovic Prince of Taranto, her near Kinsman. But Louis King of Hungary, Brother to Andrea, to revenge his death, came into Italy with an Army, and drave Giovanna and her Husband out of the Kingdom.

About these times there happened a very memorable passage in Rome; one Nicholas di Lorenzo, Chancellor in the Capitol, having forced the Senate out of Rome, under the Title of Tribune, made himself Head of that Commonwealth, reducing it into its ancient form, with so much Justice and Virtue, that not only the neighbouring Provinces, but all Italy sent Ambassadors to him. The ancient Provinces seeing that City so strangely revived, began to lift up their Heads, and pay it a respect, some out of fear, and some out of hopes. But Nicholas, notwithstanding the greatness of his Reputation, not able to comport with so great an Authority, deserted it himself; for being overburthened with the weight of it, he left it in the very beginning, and without any constraint, stole privately away to the King of Bohemia, who, by the Pope's order, in affront to Louis of Bavaria, was made Emperor, and to gratifie his Patron, he secured Nicholas, and clapt him in Prison. Not long after, as it had been in imitation of Nicholas, one Francesco Baroncegli possest himself of the Tribuneship, and turned the Senators out of Rome: so that the Pope, as the readiest way to suppress him, was glad to discharge Nicholas of his Imprisonment, and sent him to Rome to resume his old Office: whereupon Nicholas undertook the Government once

more, and caused Francesco to be executed. But the Colonnesi becoming his Enemies by degrees, he himself was put to death by them, and the Senate restored to the exercise of its former Authority. In the meantime the King of Hungary, having deposed Queen Giovanna, returned to his own Kingdom: But the Pope desired to have the Queen his Neighbour rather than that King, and ordered things so that the Kingdom was restored, upon Condition her Husband Lodovic renouncing the Title of King, should content himself with that of Taranto. The Year MCCCL. being come, his Holiness thought fit that the Jubilee appointed by Pope Bonifice VIII. to be kept every hundred years should be reduced to fifty; and having passed a Decree to that purpose, in gratitude for so great a Benefit, the Romans were contented he should send four Cardinals to Rome to reform their City, and create what Senators he pleased. After which the Pope declared Lodovic of Taranto King of Naples again, and Giovanna, highly obliged by that favour, gave the Church Avignon, which was part of her Patrimony.

By this time Luchino Visconti being dead, John Archbishop of Milan remained sole Lord, and making several Wars upon Tuscany and his Neighbours, became very considerable. After his death the Government fell to his two Nephews, Bernardo and Galeazzo, but Galeazzo dying a while after, he left his Son John Galeazzo to share with his Uncle in the State. In these Days Charles King of Bohemia was created Emperor, and Innocent VI. Pope, who having sent Cardinal Giles (a Spaniard) into Italy, by his Virtue and the excellence of his Conduct, he recovered the reputation of the Church, not only in Rome and Romagna, but all Italy over. He recovered Bologna, that had been usurped by the Archbishop of Milan. He constrained the Romans to admit a foreign Senator every year, of the Pope's nomination. He made an honourable Agreement with the Visconti. He fought and took Prisoner John Aguto, an Englishman, who with four thousand English was entertained in Tuscany, upon the Ghibilin account. After these Successes, Urban V. being Pope, he resolved to visit both Italy and Rome, where Charles the Emperor came to meet him; and having continued together several Months, Charles returned into his Kingdom, and the Pope to Avignon. Urban died, and Gregory XII. succeeded, and because Cardinal Egidio

was dead, Italy relapsed into its former distractions, occasioned by the caballing of the People against the Visconti. Whereupon the Pope at first sent a Legat into Italy with six thousand Britains, after whom he followed in Person, and re-established his Residence at Rome in the year MCCCLXXVI., after it had been kept in France LXXI. years.

After the death of this Pope, Urban VI. was created. Not long after, at Fondi, ten Cardinals quarrelling with his Election, and pretending it was not fair, created Clement VII. The Genoueses in the meantime (who for several years had lived quietly under the Government of the Visconti) rebelled. Betwixt them and the Venetian there happened great Wars about the Island of Tenedos; in which War by degrees all Italy became concerned, and there it was that great Guns were first used, they being a German invention. Though for a while the Genoueses were predominant, and held Venice blockt up for several Months together, yet in the conclusion the Venetian had the better, and made an advantageous Peace by the assistance of the Pope. In the year 1381 (as we have said before) there was a Schism in the Church, and Giovanna the Queen favoured the Anti-Pope. Whereupon, Pope Urban practised against her, and sent Carlo Durazzo, who was of the Royal House of Naples, with an Army into her Kingdom, who possest himself of her Country and drove her away into France. The King of France undertaking her quarrel, sent Louis of Anjou to repossess the Queen, and force Urban out of Rome and set up the Anti-Pope. But Louis dying in the middle of the Enterprize, his Army broke up and returned into France. Urban thereupon went over to Naples, and clapt nine Cardinals in Prison for having sided with France and the Anti-Pope. After that he took it ill of the King that he refused to make one of his Nephews Prince of Capua, but concealing his disgust, he desired Nocera of him for his Habitation, which as soon as he was possessed of, he fortified, and began to cast about which way to deprive him of his Kingdom. The King taking the Alarm, advanced against Nocera and besieged it, but the Pope escaped to Genoua, where he put the Cardinals which were his Prisoners to death. From thence he went to Rome, and created twenty-eight new Cardinals. In the meantime Charles King of Naples went into Hungary,

was proclaimed King there, and not long after killed. He left the Kingdom of Naples to his Wife and two Children he had by her, one called Ladislao and the other Giovanna.

John Galeazzo Visconti in the meantime had killed his Uncle Bernardo, and possessed himself of Milan; and not content to have made himself Duke of Milan, he attempted upon Tuscany; but when he was in a fair way to have conquered it, and to have made himself King of all Italy, he died. Urban VI. died also, and was succeeded by Boniface IX. Clement VII. the Anti-Pope died likewise at Avignon, and Benedict XIII. was created in his room. Italy all this while was full of Soldiers of Fortune, English, Dutch, and Britains, some of them commanded by Princes, which upon several occasions had been invited thither, and some of them which had been sent by the Popes when their residence was at Avignon. With this medley of Nations the Princes of Italy maintained their Wars many times, till at length Lodovic da Conio Romagnuolo having trained up a Party of Italians, called the Soldiers of Saint George, by his Valour and Discipline lessened the Reputation of the Foreigners, and made them afterwards more useful and considerable in the Italian Wars. The Pope upon certain differences which arose betwixt him and the Romans, removed to Cesi, where he remained till the Jubilee in the year 1400, at which time, to invite him back again for the benefit of their City, the Romans condescended that he should have the annual nomination of a foreign Senator, and be permitted to fortify the Castle of Saint Angelo; upon which Conditions being returned, to enrich the Church, he ordained, That in every Vacancy each Benefice should pay an Annat into the Chamber Ecclesiastical. After the death of John Galeazzo Duke of Milan, though he left two Sons, Giovan-Mari-Angelo and Philip, the State was divided into many Factions. In the troubles which followed Giovan-Mari-Angelo was slain, and Philip for some time kept Prisoner in the Castle of Pavia; but by the Valour and Allegiance of the Governour he escaped. Among the rest who had seized the Cities which belonged formerly to John Galeazzo, William della Scala was one, who having been banished, and retiring to Francesco de Carra, Lord of Padua, by his means he recovered the State of Verona, but he enjoyed it a short time; for Francesco caused him to be poisoned, and assumed the

Government himself. The Vicentini hereupon (having till then lived quietly under the Protection of the Visconti) growing jealous of the greatness of the Lord of Padua, submitted themselves to the Venetians, who at their instigation made War upon him, and beat him first out of Verona, and at length out of Padua.

By this time Pope Boniface died, and Innocent VII. was elected in his place. The people of Rome made a solemn Address to him for the Restitution of their Liberty and Forts, and being denied, they called in Ladislaus King of Naples to their Assistance; but their differences being afterwards composed, the Pope returned to Rome, from whence for fear of the people he fled to Viterbo, where he had made his Nephew Lodovic Conte della Marca; after which he died, and Gregory XII. succeeded, upon Condition he should resign whenever the Anti-Pope should be persuaded to do the same. At the intercession of the Cardinals, to try whether it was possible to accommodate their differences, and reunite the Church, Benedict the Anti-Pope came to Porto Veneri, and Gregory to Lucca, where many Expedients were proposed, but nothing concluded; whereupon the Cardinals forsook them both, of one side and the other, Benedict retired into Spain, and Gregory to Rimini. The Cardinals by the favour of Baldassare Cossa, Cardinal and Legat of Bologna, called a Council at Pisa, in which they created Alexander V., who immediately excommunicated King Ladislaus, invested Louis of Anjou with his Kingdom, and by the assistance of the Florentines, Genoueses, Venetians, and Baldassare Cossa the Legat, they assaulted Ladislaus, and drove him out of Rome. But in the heat of the War Alexander died, and Baldassare Cossa was created Pope, with the name of John XXIII. John was created at Bologna, but removed to Rome, where he found Louis of Anjou with the Forces of Provence; having joyned himself with him, they marched out against King Ladislaus, fought with him, and routed his Army; but for want of good Conduct, not pursuing their Victory, King Ladislaus rallied, recovered Rome, and forced the Pope away to Bologna, and Louis to Provence. The Pope casting about with himself which way he might restrain and lessen the power of King Ladislaus, caused Sigismund King of Hungary to be chosen Emperor, invited him into Italy; to which purpose

they had a Conference at Mantua, where it was concluded a General Council should be called for uniting the Church; upon the accomplishment of which, it was presumed they should be better able to defend themselves against the encroachments of their Enemies.

At this time there were three Popes in being at once, Gregory, Benedict, and John, which kept the Church very low, both in force and reputation. The place appointed for their Convention was Constance, a City in Germany, contrary to the intention of Pope John; and though by the death of King Ladislaus, the great Reason was taken away that moved the Pope to that proposition, nevertheless, things being gone so far, and he under an obligation, he could not handsomely come off, but was forced to go to it. Being arrived at Constance, it was not many months before he found his Error, and endeavoured to have escaped; but being discovered and taken, he was put in Prison, and compelled to renounce. Gregory, one of the Anti-Popes, renounced by Proxy, but Benedict, the other Anti-Pope, refused, and was condemned for a Heretick; at last finding himself abandoned by all the Cardinals, he renounced likewise, and the Council created a new Pope, viz., Otho of the House of Colonna, who took the name of Martin V., upon which the Schisms were composed and the Church united, after it had been divided forty years, and several Popes living at one and the same time. As we said before, Philip Visconti was at this time in the Castle of Pavia. But upon the death of Fantine Care (who in the troubles of Lombardy had made himself Lord of Vercelli, Alexandria, Novara, and Tortona, and contracted great wealth), having no Sons, he bequeathed his Dominions to his Wife Beatrix, enjoining his Friends to use their utmost endeavour to marry her to Philip; by which Marriage, Philip being much strengthened, he recovered Milan, and all the whole Province of Lombardy: after which, to recompense her great Benefits (according to the example of other Princes), he accused his Wife Beatrix of Adultery, and put her to death. Being arrived at that height both of Power and Grandeur, he began to contrive against Tuscany, and pursue the designs of his Father John Galeazzo. Ladislaus King of Naples, at his death, had left to his Sister Giovanna (besides his Kingdom) a formidable Army, commanded by the chief Captains in Italy, and

among the rest, by Sforza da Contignuolo, a person of particular repute for his Valour in those Wars. The Queen (to clear herself of an aspersion of too much intimacy with one Pandolfello which she advanced) took to her Husband Giacopa della Marcia, a Frenchman, of Royal Extraction, but upon condition he should content himself to be called Prince of Taranto, and leave the Title and Government of the Kingdom to her. But the Soldiers as soon as he was arrived in Naples called him King, which occasioned great differences betwixt him and the Queen, sometimes one prevailing, and sometimes the other. But at length the Government rested in the Queen, and she became a severe Enemy to the Pope. Whereupon Sforza, to drive her into a necessity, and force her to his own terms, laid down his Commission, and refused to serve her against him; by which means being (as it were) disarmed in a moment, having no other remedy, she applyed herself to Alphonso King of Arragon and Sicily, adopted him her Son; and to Command her Army, she entertained Braccio da Montone, as Eminent a Soldier as Sforza, and an Adversary of the Pope's, upon account of certain Towns (as Perugia and others) which he had usurped from the Church. After this a Peace was concluded betwixt her and the Pope; but Alphonso suspecting lest she should serve him as she had done her Husband, began privately to contrive how he might possess himself of the Forts: But the Queen was cunning, and prevented him by fortifying herself in the Castle of Naples. Jealousies increasing in this manner, and nobody interposing, they came to an Engagement, and the Queen by the help of Sforza (who was returned to her Service) overcame Alphonso, drove him out of Naples, abdicated him, and adopted Louis of Anjou in his place. Hereupon new Wars ensued betwixt Braccio (who was of Alphonso's party) and Sforza (who was for the Queen). In the process of the War, Sforza passing the River Pescara, was by accident drowned. His death was a great prejudice to the affairs of the Queen, who thereupon would have run great hazard of being driven out of her Kingdom, had not her loss been supplied by Philip Visconti, Duke of Milan, who forced Alphonso back again into Arragon. But Braccio, not at all discouraged at Alphonso's departure, continued War upon the Queen, and besieged Aquila. The Pope looking upon Braccio's greatness as

a diminution to the Church, entertained Francisco (the Son of Sforza) into his pay, who marching with an Army to the relief of Aquila, engaged Braccio, routed his Army, and slew him. Of Braccio's party, there remained only Otho his Son, from whom the Pope took Perugia, but left him the Government of Montone. But he also was not long after slain in Romagna, in the Florentine assistance; so that of all those who fought under the Discipline of Braccio, Nicolas Piccinino was the man now of greatest reputation.

Being come thus near with our Narrative to the times we designed, that which remains being considerable in nothing but the Wars which the Florentines and the Venetians had with Philip Duke of Milan (of which our Relation shall be particular when we come to treat of Florence), we shall forbear to enlarge any farther, and only, in short, reduce to memory in what state and posture Italy then stood with its Princes and Armies. Among the principal States, Queen Giovanna held the Kingdom of Naples, La Marca, the Patrimony, and Romagna. Part of their Towns belonged to the Church, part to their particular Governours, or others which had usurped them: as Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, to the Family of the Esti, Faenza to the Manfredi, Imola to the Alidosi, Forli to the Ordelaffi, Rimini and Pesaro to the Malatesti, and Camerino to the House Varana. Lombardy was divided, part under Duke Philip, and part under the Venetian. All the rest who had had any sovereignty or principality in those parts being extinct, except only the House of Gonzaga, which governed in Mantua at that time. Of Tuscany, the greatest part was under the Dominion of the Florentine; Lucca only and Siena lived free under their own Laws: Lucca under the Guinigi, and Siena of itself. The Genoueses, being free sometimes, sometimes under the Authority of the French, and sometimes of the Visconti, they lived without any great reputation, and were reckoned among the meaner and most inconsiderable States of that Country. Their principal Potentates were not themselves in Command, but their Armies managed by their Generals. Duke Philip confined himself to his Chamber, and not being to be seen, his Wars were managed by Commissioners. The Venetians altering their Scene, and making War by Land, they disbarqued that Army which had made them so glorious by Sea; and according to the Custom of their Country,

gave the Command of it to other People. The Pope, being a religious Person, and Giovanna Queen of Naples a Woman, were not so proper to command in Person, and therefore did that by necessity which others did by indiscretion. The Florentines were under the same necessity, for their frequent divisions having exhausted their Nobility, and the Government of the City remaining in the hands of such as were bred up to Merchandize, in their Wars they were forced to follow the fortune and direction of Strangers: So that the Armies, all Italy over, were in the hands of the smaller Princes, or such as had no Sovereignty at all; those smaller Princes embracing those Commands, not from any impulse or stimulation of Glory, but to live plentifully and safe. The others' Education having been small, not knowing what other course to take, they took up Arms, hoping thereby to gain either Honour or Estate. Among these the most eminent were Carmignuola, Francisco Sforza, Nicolo Piccinino, brought up under Braccio, Agnolo della Pergola, Lorenzo, and Micheletto Attenduli, Il Tartaglia, Giaccopaccio, Ceccolino and Da Perugia, Nicolo da Tolentino, Guido, Torello, Antonio dal Ponte ad Hera, and many others. With these may be reckoned those Princes which I have mentioned before; to which may be added the Barons of Rome, the Orsini, Colonnesi, and other Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom of Lombardy, who, depending upon the Wars, had settled a kind of a League and Intelligence betwixt themselves, modelled it with that artifice, and temporized so exactly, that most commonly whoever were Enemies, both sides were sure to be losers. By this means, the Art of War became so mean and unserviceable, every little Officer that had but the least spark of Experience could have easily corrected it. Of these lazy Princes and their despicable Officers shall be the Subject of my ensuing Discourse; but before I come to it, it will be necessary (according to my promise at first) to deduce Florence from its Original, and give every one a clear prospect what was the State of that City in those times, and by what means it arrived at it, through the embroilments of a thousand Years, in which Italy was involved.

BOOK II.

AMONG the great and admirable Orders of former Kingdoms and Common-wealths (though in our times it is discontinued and lost) it was the Custom upon every occasion to build new Towns and Cities; and indeed nothing is more worthy and becoming an excellent Prince, a well-disposed Common-wealth, nor more for the interest and advantage of a Province, than to erect new Towns, where men may cohabit with more convenience, both for Agriculture and Defence. For besides the Beauty and Ornament which followed upon that Custom, it rendered such Provinces as were conquered more dutiful and secure to the Conqueror, planted the void places, and made a commodious distribution of the People; upon which, living regularly and in order, they did not only multiply faster, but were more ready to invade and more able for defence. But by the negligence and omission of Common-wealths and Principalities, this method being at present disused, the Provinces are become weaker, and some of them ruined. For (as I said before) it is this Order alone that secures a Country and supplies it with People. The security consists in this, that in a new conquered Country, a Colony placed by Authority is a Fortress and Guard to keep the Natives in obedience; neither without this can a Province continue inhabited, or preserve a just distribution of the people, because all places being not equally fertile or healthful, where it is barren, they desert; where unwholesome, they die; and unless there be some way to invite or dispose new Men to the one as well as the other, that Province must fail; the abandoning some places, leaving them desolate and weak, and the thronging to others, making them indigent and poor. And forasmuch as these inconveniences are not to be remedied by Nature, Art and Industry is to be applyed; and we see many Countries which are naturally unhealth-

ful, much bettered by the multitude of Inhabitants; the Earth being purified by their Tillage, and the Air by their Fires, which Nature alone would never have effected. Of this Venice is an instance sufficient; for though seated in a sickly and waterish place, the concourse of so many people at one time made it healthful enough. Pisa, by reason of the malignity of the Air, was very ill inhabited, till Genoa and the Inhabitants upon its Rivers being defeated and dispossessed by the Saracens, it followed, that being supplanted all of them at once, and repairing thither in such Numbers, that Town in a short time became populous and potent. But the Custom of sending Colonies being laid aside, new conquests are not so easily kept, void places not so easily supplied, nor full and exuberant places so easily evacuated. Whereupon many places in the world, and particularly in Italy, are become desolate and deserted in respect of what in former ages they have been, which is imputable to nothing, but that Princes do not retain their ancient appetite of true Glory, nor Common-wealths the laudable customs they were wont.

In old time, by the virtue and courage of these Colonies, new Cities were many times built, and what were new begun enlarged. In which number the City of Florence may be reckoned, which was begun by the Inhabitants of Fiesole, and augmented by the Colonies. It is a true Story (if Dante and John Villani may be believed) that the City of Fiesole, though placed itself on the top of a Mountain, nevertheless, that their Markets might be better frequented, and their Commodities brought to them with greater convenience to the Merchant, they ordered them a place, not on the top of the Hill, but in the Plain, betwixt the bottom of the Mountain and the River Arnus.

These Merchants (in my judgment) were the first occasion of building in that place, and what was originally but Store-houses for receipt of their Commodities, became afterwards a Town and place of Habitation.

After the Romans had conquered the Carthaginians, and rendered Italy safe against Foreign embroilments, they multiplied exceedingly; for men will not incommode themselves, but where they are constrained by necessity; and though the terrors of War may force them for shelter to fortifyed places and rocks, yet when the danger is over, their profit and convenience calls them back

again to their houses, and they prefer elbow-room and ease before any such restraint. The security which followed in Italy upon the reputation of the Roman Common-wealth might possibly be the occasion that this place (from the aforesaid beginning increasing so vastly) became afterwards a Town, and was called at first Arnina.

After this there arose Civil Wars in Rome, first betwixt Marius and Sylla, then betwixt Cæsar and Pompey, and afterwards betwixt them that murdered Cæsar and those which revenged his death. By Sylla first, and after that by the three Roman Citizens who revenged the Assassination of Cæsar, and divided the Empire, Colonies were sent to Fiesole; all or part of which settled in the Plain not far from the Town which was already begun. So that by this occasion, the place was so replenished with Houses, Men, and all things necessary for Civil Government, that it might be reckoned among the Cities of Italy. But from whence it assumed the name of Florence is variously conjectured. Some would have it called Florence from Florino, one of the chief of that Colony. Some say it was not called Florentia, but Fluentia in the beginning, in respect of its nearness to the River Arno; and they produce Pliny as a witness, who has this Expression, That the Fluentini are near to the Channel of the River Arnus. But that (in my opinion) is a mistake, because Pliny in his Book designed to tell where the Florentines were seated, not what they were called. Nor is it unlikely but that word Fluentini might be corrupted, because Frontinus and Tacitus (who writ, and were near contemporary with Pliny) called the Town Florentia, and the people Florentini, forasmuch as they were Governed in the time of Tiberius, according to the same Laws and Customs with the rest of the Cities in Italy: and Cornelius Tacitus relates that Ambassadors were sent from the Florentines to the Emperor, to desire that the Waters of the River Chiane might not be disembogued or diverted upon their Country; neither is it reasonable to think that City could have two names at one time. My opinion therefore is clear, that whatever might be the occasion of its Original or Denomination, it was always called Florentia; that it was founded under the Empire of the Romans, and began to be mentioned in History in the time of the first Emperors; that when that Empire was first afflicted by the Barbarians, Totila

King of the Ostrogoti demolished Florence; that 250 years after, it was rebuilt by Carolus Magnus, from whose time till the year 1215 it followed the fortune of the rest of Italy, and was subject to those that Commanded; during which it was governed first by the Successors of Charles, afterwards by the Berengarij, and last of all by the Emperors of Germany, as has been shown in our general discourse. In those days it was not in the power of the Florentines to extend their bounds, or to perform any memorable action, by reason of their subjection to Foreign Dominion. Nevertheless in the year 1010, on St. Romulus' day (which was a solemn Festival among the Fiesolani) they took and destroyed Fiesole, either by the connivance of the Emperors, or by the opportunity of an Interregnum betwixt the death of one Emperor and the Creation of another, at which time all the Cities were free. But afterwards when the Popes assumed more Authority, and the Emperors' power began to diminish, all the Towns in that Province began to comport themselves with less regard or reverence to their Princes; so that in the year 1080, in the days of Henry III., though Italy was divided betwixt him and the Church, yet till the year 1215, the Florentines by submitting to the Conquerors, and designing no farther than their own preservation, kept themselves quiet and entire. But as in the Body of Man, the later they come, the more dangerous and mortal are the Diseases; so Florence the longer it was before it fell into the paroxysms of faction, the more fatally it was afflicted afterwards when it did. The occasion of its first division is considerable, and being mentioned by Dante and several other Writers as remarkable, I shall take the liberty to discourse of it briefly.

Among other great and powerful Families in Florence, there were the Buondelmonti and Uberti, and not long after them the Amidei and Donati. In the Family of the Donati there was a Lady (a Widow), very rich, who had a great Beauty to her Daughter. The Lady had resolved with herself to marry her Daughter to Messr. Buondelmonte, a Young Gentleman, the head of that Family. This intention of hers (either by negligence, or presuming it safe enough at any time) she had not imparted to anybody, so that before she was aware Messr. Buondelmonte was to be married to a Daughter of the House of Amidei. The Lady, much dissatisfied with her omission, hoping nevertheless her Daughter's Beauty

might be able to dissolve the Contract, seeing him pass one day alone towards her House, she took her Daughter along, and went down to accost him, and opening the Gate as he went by, she saluted him and told him she could not but congratulate his Marriage, though indeed she had kept her Daughter (presenting her to him) in hopes she should have been the Bride. The young Gentleman beholding the Excellent Beauty of the Damoiselle, contemplating her Extraction, and that her Fortune was not at all inferior to the person he had chosen, fell immediately into such a passion and desire to marry her, that not considering the promise he had made, the injustice he should commit, nor the ill consequences that might follow, he replied, Seeing, Madam, you have preserved her for me, being not yet too late, it would be ingratitude to refuse her; and without more ado, he married her. The notice of his inconstancy was no sooner divulged but it was taken in great indignity by the Families of the Amidei and Uberti, who at that time were nearly allied. Having consulted among themselves, and several others of their Relations, it was concluded the affront was insupportable, and not to be expiated but by the death of Messr. Buondelmonte; and though some remonstrated the evils which might follow, Moscha Lamberti replied, That to consider everything, was to resolve on nothing; superadding an old Adage, *That a thing once done, is not capable of Remedy:* upon which the Fact being determined, the perpetration was committed to the said Moscha, Stiatta Uberti, Lambertuccio Amidei, and Oderigo Fifanti. Upon Easter-day, in the morning, they addressed themselves to the work, and being privately conveyed to a House belonging to the Amidei, between the Old Bridge and St. Stephans, Messr. Buondelmonte passing the River upon a White Horse (as if an injury could as easily have been forgotten as a Marriage have been broken), they set upon him at the foot of the Bridge, and slew him under a Statue of Mars, which was placed thereby. This Murder divided the whole City, part of it siding with the Buondelmonti and part with the Uberti; and both the Families being powerful in Houses, Castles, and Men, the Quarrel continued many years before either could be ejected; yet though the animosity could not be extinguished by a firm and stable peace, yet things were palliated and composed sometimes for the present, by certain Truces and Cessations, by which means (according to the

variety of accidents) they were sometimes at quiet, and sometimes together by the ears.

In this Condition Florence continued till the Reign of Frederick XI., who being King of Naples, and desirous to strengthen himself against the Church, to corroborate his interest in Tuscany, joyned himself to the Uberti and their party, by whose assistance the Buondelmonti were driven out of Florence, and that City (as all Italy had done before) began to divide into the Factions of the Guelfs and the Ghibilins. Nor will it be amiss to commemorate how each Family was engaged. The Families therefore which sided with the Guelfs were the Buondelmonti, Nerti, Rossi, Frescobaldi, Mozzi, Baldi, Pulchi, Gherardina, Foraboschi, Bagnesi, Guidalotti, Sacchetti, Manieri, Lucardesi, Chiaramonti, Compiobbesi, Cavalcanti, Giandonati, Gianfiliazzi, Scali, Guallerotti, Importuni, Bostichi, Tornaquinci, Vecchietti, Fosinghi, Arrigucci, Agli, Silij, Adimari, Visdomini, Donati, Pazzi, Della Bella, Ardinghi, Theobaldi, Cerchi. With the Ghibilins there joyned the Uberti, Manelli, Ubriachi, Fifanti, Amidei, Infanganti, Malespini, Scolari, Guidi, Galli, Capprardi, Lamberti, Soldanieri, Cipriani, Toschi, Amieri, Palermini, Migliorelli, Pigli, Barucci, Cattani, Agolanti, Bruneleschi, Caponsachi, Elisei, Abbati, Fedaldini, Guiocchi, Galigai; to which Families of the Nobility, many of the Populace joyned themselves on each side, as their interest or affections carried them, so that in a manner the whole City was engaged either on the one side or the other. The Guelfs being driven out, retired into the Vale upon the River Arno, mentioned before, and the greatest part of their Garrisons being there, they defended them as well as they could against the Attacks of their Enemies. But when Frederick died, those persons who were Neuters, retaining great interest and reputation with the people, thought it more serviceable to the City of Florence to reconcile their differences and unite them, than by fomenting them to destroy it. Whereupon endeavouring a Composure, they prevailed at length that the Guelfs should lay aside their indignation, and return, and the Ghibilines renounce their suspicion and receive them. Being united in this manner, it was thought seasonable to provide for their liberty, and to contrive some Laws for their defence, before the new Emperor should get the power into his hands. In order thereunto they divided the City into six parts; They chose twelve

Citizens (two for each part), which, under the title of Antiani, they invested with the Government, but changed them every year. To prevent any animosity that might arise from the determination of the matters judicial, they constituted two Foreign Judges (one of them called the Captain of the people, and the other the Podesta) to decide all Civil and Criminal Causes which should occur. And because Laws are but transient and of little duration, where there is no power to defend them, they established twenty Colours in the City, and seventy-six in the Territory, under which all the youth was listed, and obliged to be ready in their Arms under their respective Colours, as often and whenever the Captain, or Antiani, should require them. Moreover, as their Ensigns were distinct, so were their Arms; some of them consisted of Cross-bows, some of them of Halbards. Their Ensigns were changed at every Pentecost with great solemnity, and disposed to new Men, and new Captains put over their Companies. Besides, to add majesty to their Army, and provide a refuge for such as were wounded or disabled in Fight, where they might refresh and recruit again, to make head against the Enemy, they ordered a large Charriot covered with Red, and drawn by two white Oxen, upon which their Standard of White and Red was to be placed. Whenever their Army was to be drawn out, this Charriot was to be drawn into the Market-place, and with great formality consigned to the Captains of the people. For the greater magnificence and ostentation of their Enterprizes, they had, moreover, a great Bell (called Martinello) which rung continually a month before they marched with their Army, that the Enemy might have so much time to provide for his Defence. So much Gallantry there was then amongst men, and with so much Magnanimity they behaved themselves, that whereas nowadays it is reputed policy and wisdom to surprize an Enemy, and fall upon him while he is unprovided, it was then thought treacherous and ignoble. This Bell, when they marched, was carried along with the Army, and by it the Guards set and relieved, and other Military Orders derived.

By this Discipline in Civil and Martial affairs, the Florentines laid the foundation of their liberty. Nor is it to be imagined what strength and authority it acquired in a short time, for it came not only to be the chief City in Tuscany, but to be reckoned

among the Principal of all Italy; and indeed there was no grandeur to which it might not have arrived, had it not been obstructed by new and frequent dissentions. Ten years together, the Florentines lived under this Government; in which time they forced the Pistoiesi, Arentini, and Sienesi to make peace with them, and returning with their Army from Siena, they took Volterra, demolished several Castles, and brought the Inhabitants to Florence.

In these Expeditions the Guelfs had the principal Conduct, as being much more popular than the Ghibilines, who had carried themselves imperiously during Frederick's Reign, and made themselves odious; or else it was because the Church party had more Friends than the Emperors, as being thought more consistent with their liberty. The Ghibilines in the meantime, being displeased to see their Authority so sensibly decrease, could not be satisfied, but attended all occasions to repossess themselves of the Government. When Manfredi the Son of Frederick King of Naples was invested in that Kingdom, and had overpowered the power of the Church, conceiving it a fair opportunity, they practised privately with him, to reassume their Government; but they could not manage it so cunningly but their practice was discovered to the Antiani, who summoning the Uberti thereupon, the Uberti not only refused to appear, but took Arms, and fortified themselves in their houses; at which the people being incensed, took arms likewise, and joyning with the Guelfs, drove them out of Florence, and forced the whole Ghibiline party to transplant to Siena. From thence they desired the assistance of Manfredi King of Naples, who sending them supplies by the Conduct and Diligence of Frinata (of the House of Uberti), the Guelfs received such a blow upon the River Arebia, that those which escaped (supposing their City lost) fled directly to Lucca, and left Florence to shift for itself. Manfredi had given the Command of the Auxiliaries which he sent to the Ghibilines to the Conte Giordano, a Captain of no small reputation in those times. Giordano, after this Victory, advanced with his Ghibilines to Florence, reduced the City to the obedience of Manfredi, deposed the Magistrates, and altered or abrogated all the Laws and Customs that might give them the least figure or commemoration of their liberty: Which injury being done with little discretion, was received by the

people with so much detestation, that whereas before they were scarce Enemies to the Ghibilines, they became thereby inveterate and implacable; and that mortal animosity was in time their utter destruction. Being to return to Naples upon affairs of great importance to that Kingdom, the Conte Giordano left Count Guido Novello (Lord of Casentino) in Florence, as Deputy for the King. This Guido Novello called a Council of Ghibilines at Empoli, wherein it was unanimously concluded that Florence should be razed, being (by reason the people were so rigid Guelfs) the only City capable to reinforce the declining Party of the Church.

Upon so cruel and barbarous a Sentence against so noble a City, there was not one Friend or Citizen opposed besides Ferinata della Uberti, who publickly and courageously undertook its defence: declaring that he had not run so many dangers, nor exposed himself to so many difficulties, but to live quietly afterwards in his own Country; nor would he now reject what he contended for so long, nor refuse that which his good fortune had given him. He was resolved rather to oppose himself, against whoever should design otherwise, with as much vigour and zeal as he had done against the Guelfs; and if jealousy and apprehension should prompt them to endeavour the destruction of their Country, they might attempt if they pleased; but he hoped, with the same virtue which drove out the Guelfs, he should be able to defend the City. This Ferinata was a man of great courage, excellent conduct, head of the Ghibilines, and in no small esteem with Manfredi himself. These qualifications, and the consideration of his authority, put an end to that resolution, and they began now to take new measures, and contrive ways of preserving the State. The Guelfs who had fled to Lucca, being dismissed by the Lucchesi upon the Count's commination, they withdrew to Bologna, from whence, being invited by the Guelfs of Parma to go against the Ghibilines, they behaved themselves so well, that by their valour the Adversary was overcome, and their possessions given to them: so that, increasing in honour and wealth, and understanding that Pope Clement had called Charles of Anjou into Italy, to depose Manfredi if possible, they sent Ambassadors to his Holiness to tender their assistance; which the Pope not only accepted, but sent them his own Standard, which the Guelfs

carried ever after in their Wars, and is used in Florence to this very day.

After this, Manfredi was beaten, despoiled of his Kingdom, and slain; and the Guelfs of Florence, having performed their share in that Action, their Party grew more brisk and courageous, and the Ghibilines more timorous and weak. Whereupon those who with Count Guido Novello were at the helm in Florence, began to cast about how they might, by benefits or otherwise, gain and cajole the people, whom before they had exasperated by all circumstances of injury. But those remedies (which if used in time, before necessity required, might possibly have prevailed) being applyed abruptly, and too late, did not only not contribute to their safety, but hastened their ruin. To coax and insinuate with the people and their party, they thought it would do much if they restored them to a part of that honour and authority which they had lost. To this purpose they chose thirty-six Citizens from among the people, and adding to them two foreign Gentlemen from Bologna, they gave them power to reform the State of the City as they pleased. As soon as they met, the first thing they pitcht upon was to divide the City into several Arts (or Trades); over each Art they placed a Master, who was to administer Justice to all under his ward; and to every Art a Banner was assigned, that under that each Company might appear in arms, whenever the safety of the City required it. At first these Arts (or Companies) were twelve, seven greater and five less; the lesser increasing afterwards to fourteen, their whole number advanced to twenty-one, as it remains at this day. The Reformation proceeding quietly in this manner, and contriving many things for the common benefit of the people, without interruption; Count Guido thinking himself under an equal obligation to provide for his Soldiers, caused a Tax to be laid upon the Citizens, to raise Money for their Pay; but he found such difficulty in the business, he durst never collect it. Whereupon, perceiving all lost, unless something was suddainly done, he combined with the chief of the Ghibilines, and determined to take that back again by force from the people which so unadvisedly they had given.

With which design, having assembled the several Companies in their arms (and the thirty-six Reformatori with them), causing a suddain alarm to be brought in, the Reformatori being frighted,

and retiring to their houses, the Ensigns of the several Faculties were displayed, and several armed men behind them immediately. Understanding that Count Guido and his Party were at St. John's, they made a stand at St. Trinita, and chose Giovanni Soldanieri for their Captain. The Count on the other side, hearing where they had posted, advanced against them; and the people not declining, they met in a place which is now called Loggia dei Tornaquinci, where the Count was worsted, and most of his Party slain. Being off of his mettle, and fearful the enemy would assault him in the night and cut his throat, his men being cowed and unable to defend him, without considering other remedy, he resolved to preserve himself by flying, rather than by fighting; and accordingly (contrary to the persuasion of the Heads of the Ghibilines) he retired to Prato with what men he had left. When he found himself safe, and his fear over, he became sensible of his error, and being desirous to have repaired it, next morning, at break of day, he drew out his Men, marched back to Florence, designing to recover that honourably which he had so scandalously lost. But he found himself mistaken, for though it might have cost the people hot water to have expelled him, they found it no hard matter to keep him out when he was gone; insomuch that being repulsed, he drew off with great sorrow and shame to Casentino, and the Ghibilines returned to their houses. The people being Conquerors, out of affection to all such as had a love for their Country, they resolved to reunite the City once more, and called home all their Citizens which were abroad, as well Ghibilines as Guelfs. Hereupon the Guelfs returned, after six years' banishment; the Ghibilines' late attempt was pardoned, and they received back again; but yet they continued odious both to the people and Guelfs, the last not being able to extinguish the memory of their banishment, nor the first to forget their tyranny and insolence, when the Government was in their hand; so that their animosity was deposited neither on the one side nor the other.

Whilst the affairs of Florence were in this posture, a report was spread that Corradine, Nephew to Manfredi, was coming with Forces out of Germany, to conquer the Kingdom of Naples; upon which the Ghibilines conceived fresh hopes of recovering their Authority: and the Guelfs being no less solicitous for their

security, begged the assistance of King Charles, in case Corradine should come. Charles having complied, and his Forces upon their march, the Guelfs became so insolent, and the Ghibilines so timorous, that two days before the French Army arrived, the Ghibilines fled out of the City, without staying to be expelled. The Ghibilines departed, the Florentines new modelled their City, choosing Twelve principal Magistrates to continue in Authority only for two Months, not under the title of Antiani, but Buoni Uomini. Next to them they constituted a Council of 80 Citizens, which they called La Credenza: after which, 180 were chosen out of the people, which with the Credenza, and the 12 Buoni Uomini, were called the General Council: besides which, they erected another Council, consisting of 120, both Citizens and Nobles, which Council was to consummate and ratify whatever was debated or resolved in the rest. Having settled their Government in this manner, and by new Laws and Election of Magistrates of their own party, fortified themselves against the machinations of the Ghibilines, the Guelfs confiscated the Ghibilines' Estates, and having divided them into three parts, one was assigned to Publick uses, another given to their Magistrates and Captains, and the third distributed among the Guelfs, to recompence the damage they had received. The Pope, to preserve Tuscany to the Faction of the Guelfs, made King Charles Imperial Vicar of that Province. By this method, the Florentines having maintained their honour and reputation abroad by their Arms, and at home by their Laws, they remained firm and secure. In the meantime the Pope died, and after a two years' vacancy, and a tedious dispute, Gregory X. was elected, who being at the time of his Election (and a long while before) in Syria, and by consequence ignorant of the humours of the Factions, he carryed not himself with that caution towards them as his Predecessors had done. But in his way to France, being arrived at Florence, he thought it the office of a good Pastor to endeavour to compose their differences, and prevailed with them to receive Commissioners from the Ghibilines to negotiate the manner of their return; but though their Peace was made, and all particulars concluded, the Ghibilines were too jealous to accept them, and refused to come back. The Pope imputed the fault to the City, and excommunicated it in his passion, under which censure it

continued whilst he lived; but after his death, when Innocent V. was created, it was taken off. Innocent V. was succeeded by Nicholas III. of the house of Orsini; and because the Popes were always jealous of any great power in Italy (though raised by the favour of the Church), and constantly endeavoured to depress it, great troubles and frequent variations ensued. For the fear of a person grown potent to any degree, was the advancement of another less powerful than he, who growing powerful by his preferment, as his Predecessor had done, became formidable like him; and that fear was the occasion of his debasement. This was the cause that Kingdom was taken from Manfredi and given to Charles. This was the reason that Charles became terrible afterwards, and his ruine was conspired: for Nicholas III. (moved by the Considerations aforesaid) prevailed so, that Charles, by the Emperor's means, was removed from the Government of Tuscany, and Latino (the Pope's Legate) sent thither in his place, by Commission from the Emperor. Florence at this time was in no very good condition, for the Guelfish Nobility being grown insolent and careless of the Magistrates, several Murders and other Violences were daily committed, the Malefactors passing unpunished by the favour and protection of the Nobles. To restrain these insolencies, it was thought good by the Heads of the City to recall those who were banished, which gave opportunity to the Legate to reunite the City, and to the Ghibilines to return: whereupon, instead of twelve Governours which they had before, they were increased to Fourteen (seven of each party), their Government to be Annual, and their Election by the Pope. Two years Florence remained under this Form, till Martin (a Frenchman) was created Pope, who restored to King Charles whatever Authority Pope Nicolas had taken from him: So that Florence being again in Commotion, the Citizens took up Arms against the Emperor's Governour, and to restrain the Ghibilines, and correct the insolence of their Nobility, put the City under a new form of Government.

It was in the year 1282, when the Corporation of the Arts, having been invested with the Magistracy and Militia, had gained great reputation, whereupon by their own Authority they ordered that instead of the Fourteen, Three Citizens should be created (with the Title of Priori), who should Govern the Common-wealth for

two Months, and be chosen indifferently out of Commons or Nobility, provided they were Merchants, or professed any Art. Afterwards the chief Magistracy was reduced to Six persons (one for each Ward), where it continued to the year 1342, in which the City was reduced into Quarters, and the Priori to Nine, they having been advanced to Twelve by some accident in the meantime. This Constitution was the occasion (as shall be shewed in its place) of the Nobilities' ruine, who upon sundry provocations were excluded, and afterwards, without any respect, oppressed by the people. At first the Nobility consented to its Erection, as an expedient to unite and accommodate all differences; but afterwards incroaching and interfering for the Government, all of them lost it. There was likewise a Palace assigned for the constant Residence of this Council (in which the Magistrates were formerly accustomed to confer with the Commissioners of the Church) and Serjeants, and other necessary Officers, for their greater honour, appointed to attend: Which Council, though at first it had only the Title of Priori, yet afterwards for Magnificence' sake, it had the addition of Signori.

For a while the Florentines continued quiet within themselves, though they had Wars abroad with the Aretines (who had driven out the Guelfs), with whom they engaged successfully in Campaldino, and overcame them. Upon which, the City increasing both in Wealth and number of Inhabitants, it was thought good to enlarge their Walls, which they did to its present Circumference; whereas before its Diameter was only from the Old Bridge to S. Lorenzo. The Wars abroad, and Peace at home, had almost exterminated both the Ghibilines and Guelfs in that City; there remained only those sparks of animosity (which are unavoidable in all Cities) betwixt the Nobles and the People; for the one solicitous of their freedom according to their Laws, and the other impatient to command them, it is not possible they should agree. Whilst they were apprehensive of the Ghibilines, this humour did not show itself in the Nobility; but when the Ghibilines were low and depressed it began to exert, and the people were injured daily, beyond the Vindication either of the Magistrates or Laws, every Nobleman making good his insolence, by the multitude of his Friends and Relations, both against the Priori and the Captain. The Heads therefore of the Arts (by way of remedy against

so great inconvenience) provided that in the beginning of its Office every Counsel of the Priori should create an Ensign or Gonfaloniere di Justicia out of the people, assigning him 1000 men in 20 Companies, which were to be ready with their Arms, and their Gonfaloniere to see Justice administered whenever the Court or their Captain required them. The first in this Office was Ubaldo Ruffoli, who drawing out his Bands, demolished the Houses of the Galetti, because one of that Family had slain one of his Fellow-Citizens in France. The establishment of this Order by the Arts was not difficult, by reason of the jealousies and emulations amongst the Nobility, who were not in the least sensible it was intended against them, till they felt the smart of it when it was put in execution. This Constitution was terrible to them at first, but afterwards they returned to their old insolence again; for having insinuated themselves into the Council of the Priori, they found means to hinder the Gonfaloniere from executing his Office. Besides, Witness being always required upon any accusation, the Plaintiff could hardly find anybody that would give Testimony against the Nobility. So that in a short time Florence was involved in its own distraction, and the people exposed to their former oppression, Justice being grown dilatory and tedious, and Sentence, though given, seldom or never executed. The Populace not knowing what resolution to take in this Case, Giano della Bella (a person of Noble extraction, but a Lover of the Liberty of the City) encouraged the Heads of the Arts to reform the City, and by his persuasion it was Ordained that the Gonfaloniere should reside with the Priori, and have 4000 men under his Command; they likewise excluded the Nobility out of the Council of the Signori.

They made a Law that all Accessories or Abettors should be liable to the same punishment with those who were actually Guilty, and decreed that Common report should be sufficient to convict them. By these Laws (which were called Ordinamenti della Giustitia) the people gained great reputation: but Giano della Bella, being looked upon as the contriver of their Destruction, became odious to the Nobility; and not to them only, but to the wealthiest of the Populace, who began to suspect his Authority, and not without reason, as appeared afterwards upon the first occasion was given him to abuse it. It happened one of

the Commons was killed in a fray, where several of the Nobility were present; Corso Donati being one amongst the rest, the Murder was laid to his Charge, as the most furious and desperate. He was taken into Custody by the Captain, but (however causes went) whether he was innocent of the Crime, or the Captain fearful to condemn him, he was presently discharged. The people offended at his discharge, betook themselves to their Arms, ran to the House of Giano della Bella, and begged of him that he would be the means that the Laws he had invented might be put in Execution. Giano had privately a desire that Corso should be punished, and therefore advised not the people to lay down their Arms (as many conceived he ought), but encouraged them to address to the Signori their Complaints, and desire their Vindication. The people full of rage, thinking themselves abused by the Captain, and abandoned by Giano, went not to the Signori (as directed), but away they ran to the Captain's Palace, and plundered it; which action displeased the whole City, and was laid upon Giano, by such as meditated his ruine; whereupon some of his Enemies happening afterwards to be of the Signori, he was accused to the Captain as an Incendiary and Debaucher of the people.

Whilst his Cause was in agitation, the people took Arms again, flocked in great numbers to his House, and offered to defend him against the Signori his Enemies. Giano had no mind to experiment the popular favour, or trust his life in the hands of the Magistrates, as fearing the malignity of the one, no less than the inconstancy of the other; but to secure himself against the malice of his Enemies, and his Country against the commotion of his Friends, he resolved to give way to their Envy, and banish himself from that City which he had preserved from the Tyranny of the Nobility by his own danger and charge. The Nobility, after his departure, to recover their dignity, which they conceived lost by the dissentions among them, united, and applyed themselves by two of their Number to the Senate or Signoria (which they judged to be their friends), to intreat them to mitigate in some measure the acerbity of those Laws which were made against them: which demand was no sooner known, but the people (fearing the Signoria should comply) began immediately to tumultuate, and, betwixt the ambition of the one and suspicion

of the other, they fell soon after to blows. The Nobility stood upon their Guards in three places, at St. John's, in the Mercato Nuovo and the Piazza de Mozzi, under three Commanders, Forese Adinari, Vanni de Mozzi, and Geri Spini. The people were got together under their Ensigns in great Numbers at the Senator's Palace, which at that time was not far from St. Pruocolo; and because the people were jealous of the Signori, they deputed six Citizens to share with them in the Government. In the meantime, while both parties were preparing for the Combat, some, both of the Nobility and Commons, with certain Religious persons of good Reputation, interposed themselves, remonstrating to the Nobility that the Honour they had lost, and the Laws made against them, were occasioned by their Arrogance and ill Government; that now to take Arms, and betake themselves to force, for the recovery of what was lost by their own dissention and ill-management, would be the ruine of their Country and a detriment to themselves. That they should consider in number, riches, and malice, they were much inferiour to the people. That that Nobility they so vainly affected, by which they thought to advance others, when they came to fight, would prove but a mere Title and Name, unable to defend them against the advantages which their Enemies had over them. To the people it was represented imprudence to drive things too far, and make their Adversaries desperate; *For he that hopes no good, fears no ill.* That it ought to be considered, their Nobility were they which had gained so much Honour to their City in its Wars, and were not therefore in justice to be used at that rate. That they could be content to have the Supreme Magistracy taken from them, and endure it patiently; but they thought it unreasonable and insupportable to be at everybody's mercy (as their new Laws rendered them) and subject to be driven out of their Countrey upon every Cappriccio. That it would be well to mitigate their fury, and lay down their Arms, rather than to run the hazard of a Battel by presumption upon their Numbers, which had many times failed and been worsted by the less. The people were divided in their Judgments; some were for engaging, as a thing some time or other would necessarily be; and better now than to defer till their Enemies were more powerful: and if it could be imagined the mitigation of the Laws would content them, they should be mitigated accord-

ingly; but their insolence and pride could never be laid by, till by force they were constrained to it. To others more moderate and prudent, it appeared that the alteration of the Laws would not signifie much, but to come to a Battel might be of very great importance; and their Opinion prevailing, it was provided that no accusation should be admitted against a Nobleman without necessary testimony. Though upon these terms both parties laid down their Arms, yet their jealousies of one another were mutually retained, and they began again to fortifie on both sides. The People thought fit to re-order the Government, and reduced their Signori to a less number, as suspecting some of them to be too great favourers of the Nobility, of whom the Mansini, Magalotti, Altoviti, Peruzzi, and Cerretani were the chief. Having settled the State in this manner in the year 1298, for the greater Magnificence and Security of their Signori, they founded their Palace, and made a Piazza before it, where the houses of the Uberti stood formerly: About the same time also the Foundations of the Prisons were laid, which in few years after were finished. Never was this City in greater splendour, nor more happy in its condition, than then, abounding both in men, riches, and reputation. They had 3000 Citizens in the Town fit to bear Arms, and 70,000 more in their Territory. All Tuscany was at its devotion, partly as subjects and partly as friends. And though there were still piques and suspicions betwixt the Nobility and the People, yet they did not break out into any ill effect, but all lived quietly and peaceably together; and had not this tranquillity been at length interrupted by dissention within, it had been in no danger from abroad; being in such terms at that time, it neither feared the Empire nor its Exiles, and could have brought a force into the Field equivalent to all the rest of the States in Italy. But that disease from which *ab extra* it was secure, was engendred in its own bowels.

There were two Families in Florence, the Cerchi and the Donati, equally considerable, both in numbers, riches, and dignity; being Neighbours both in City and Country, there happened some exceptions and disgust betwixt them, but not so great as to bring them to blows, and perhaps they would never have produced any considerable effects, had not their ill humours been agitated and fermented by new occasion. Among the chief Families in Pistoia,

there was the Family of the Cancellieri. It happened that Lore the Son of Gulielmo, and Geri the Son of Bertaccio, fell out by accident at play, and passing from words to blows, Geri received a slight wound. Gulielmo was much troubled at the business, and thinking by excess of humility to take off the scandal, he increased it and made it worse. He commanded his Son to go to Geri's Father's house, and demand his pardon; Lore obeyed, and went as his Father directed: but that act of humanity did not at all sweeten the acerbity of Bertaccio's mind, who causing Lore to be seized by his servants (to aggravate the indignity), he caused him to be led by them into the Stable, and his hand cut off upon the Manger, with instruction to return to his Father, and to let him know, *That wounds are not cured so properly by words, as amputation.* Gulielmo was so enraged at the cruelty of the fact, as he and his friends immediately took Arms to revenge it; and Bertaccio and his friends doing as much to defend themselves, the whole City of Pistoia was engaged in the quarrel, and divided into two parties. These Cancellieri being both of them descended from one of the Cancellieri who had two Wives, one of them called Bianca, that party which descended from her called itself Bianca, and the other in opposition was called Nera. In a short time many conflicts happened betwixt them, many men killed, and many houses destroyed. Not being able to accommodate among themselves, though both sides were weary, they concluded to come to Florence, hoping some expedient would be found out there, or else to fortifie their parties by the acquisition of new friends. The Neri having had familiarity with the Donati, were espoused by Corso, the head of that Family. The Bianchi, to support themselves against the accession of the Donati, fell in with Veri the chief of the Cerchi, a man not inferior to Corso in any quality whatever. The malignity of this humour being brought hither from Pistoia, began to revive the old quarrel betwixt the Cerchi and Donati in such manner, that the Priori and other Principal Citizens began to apprehend they should fall together by the ears, and the whole City come to be divided. Hereupon they applyed themselves to the Pope, desiring he would interpose his Authority to asswage those differences which were too great for their private power to compose. The Pope sent for Veri, and prest him earnestly to a reconciliation with the Donati.

Veri seemed to be surprised at his importunity, pretended he had no prejudice to them at all, and because reconciliation presupposed a quarrel, there being nothing of the latter, he thought there was no necessity of the first. So that Veri returning from Rome without any other conclusion, the Malevolence increased, and every little accident (as it happened afterwards) was sufficient to put all in confusion.

In the Month of May, several Holidays being publickly celebrated in Florence, certain young Gentlemen of the Donati, with their friends on Horseback, having stopt near St. Trinity, to see certain Women that were dancing, it fell out that some of the Cerchi arrived there likewise with some of their friends, and being desirous to see as well as the rest, not knowing the Donati were before, they spurred on their horses, and jostled in among them. The Donati looking upon it as an affront, drew their Swords; the Cerchi were as ready to answer them, and after several cuts and slashes given and received, both sides retired. This accident was the occasion of great mischief; the whole City (as well People as Nobility) divided, and took part with the Bianchi and Neri, as their inclinations directed them. The chief of the Bianchi were the Cerchi, to whom the Adimari, the Abbati, part of the Fosinghi, the Bardi, Rossi, Frescobaldi, Nerli, Manilli, all the Mozzi, the Scali, Gerrardini, Cavalcanti, Malespini, Bostichi, Giandionati, Vecchietti, and Arriguelzi, joyned themselves; with these sided several of the Populace and all the Ghibiline Faction in Florence; so that in respect to their Numbers, they seemed to have the whole Government of the City. The Donati on the other side were Heads of the Neri, and followed by all the rest of the beforementioned Nobility, who were not engaged with the Bianchi; and beside them, all the Parzi, Bisdomini, Manieri, Bagnesij, Tornaquinci, Spini, Buondelmonti, Gianfigliazzi, and Brunelleschi: Nor did this humour extend itself only in the City, but infected the whole Country. Insomuch that the Captains of the Arts, and such as favoured the Guelfs, and were Lovers of the Commonwealth, very much apprehended least this new distraction should prove the ruin of the City, and the restauration of the Ghibilines. Whereupon they sent to the Pope, beseeching him to think of some remedy, unless he had a mind that City (which had been always a bulwark to the Church) should be destroyed, or become

subject to the Ghibilines. To gratifie their request, the Pope dispatched Matteo d'Aquasparta (a Portugal Cardinal) as his Legate to Florence, who finding the Party of the Bianchi obstinate and untractable, as presuming upon the advantage of their Numbers, he left Florence in an anger, and interdicted them; so that the Town remained in more confusion at his departure than he found it.

All Parties being at that time very high, and disposed to mischief, it happened that several of the Cerchi and Donati meeting at a Burial, some words passed betwixt them, and from words they proceeded to blows, but no great hurt done, for that time. Both sides being returned to their houses, the Cerchi began to deliberate how they might fall upon the Donati, and in conclusion they went in great numbers to attack them; but by the courage of Corso they were repelled, and several of them wounded. Hereupon the City fell to their Arms; the Laws and the Magistrates were too weak to contest with the fury of both Parties. The wisest and best Citizens were in perpetual fear. The Donati and their Friends having less force, were more anxious and sollicitous of their safety, to provide for it as well as was possible: At a meeting of Corso with the heads of the Neri and the Captain of the Arts, it was concluded that the Pope should be desired to send them some person of the Blood Royal to reform their City, supposing that way the most probable to suppress the Bianchi. The Assembly and their resolution was notified to the Priori, and aggravated against the adverse Party as a conspiracy against their Freedom. Both Factions being in arms, Dante and the rest of the Signori taking courage, with great wisdom and prudence causing the people to put themselves in arms, by conjunction of several out of the Country, they forced the Heads of both Parties to lay down their Arms, confined Corso, Donati, and several of the Faction of the Neri to their houses; and that their proceedings might seem impartial, they committed several of the Bianchi, who afterwards upon plausible pretences were dismissed. Corso and his Accomplices were discharged likewise; and supposing his Holiness to be their Friend, took a Journey to Rome, to perswade him personally to what by Letters they had begged of him before. There happened to be at the Pope's Court at that time Charles de Valois the King of France his Brother, called into

Italy by the King of Naples to pass over into Sicily. The Pope (upon the importunity of the Florentine Exiles) thought fit to send him to Florence, to remain there till the season of the year served better for his transportation. Charles arrived, and though the Bianchi (who had then the Supremacy) were jealous of him, yet being Patron of the Guelfs, and deputed thither by the Pope, they durst not oppose his coming; but, on the contrary, to oblige him, they gave him full authority to dispose of the City as he pleased.

Charles was no sooner invested with his Authority, but he caused all his Friends and Partizans to arm, which gave the people so great a jealousie that he would usurp upon their Liberties, that they also put themselves in arms, and stood ready every man at his door to resist any such attempt. The Cerchi and the chief of the Bianchi (having had the Government in their hands and managed it proudly) were become generally odious; which gave encouragement to Corso and the rest of the Neri who were banished to return to Florence, being assured that Charles and the Captains of the Companies were their Friends. Whilst their suspicion of Charles had put the City in arms, Corso, his Comrades, and many of their Followers entered into Florence without any impediment: And although Veri de Cerchi was perswaded to oppose, he refused it, and told them he would leave their Chastisement to the People of Florence, against whose interest Corso did come. But he was mistaken in his measures, for instead of being punished, he was received very kindly by the people, and Veri was forced to fly for his safety. For Corso having forced his entrance at the Porta Pinti, drew up and made a stand at S. Pietro Maggiore (a place not far from his Palace), and having united with such of the people and his Friends as desired Novelty, and were come thither on purpose, the first thing he did was to discharge all Prisoners whatever and however committed, whether by private or publick Authority. He forced the Signori to return privately to their Houses, and elected a certain number (of the Faction of the Neri) out of the People, to supply their places. For five days together they ransacked and plundered the houses of the chief of the Bianchi. The Cerchi and the heads of that Faction, seeing the people for the most part their Enemies, and Charles none of their Friend, were retired out of the City, to

such Castles as they had; and whereas before they would not entertain the Counsel of the Pope, they were now glad to implore his assistance, and to let him understand that Charles was not come to the advantage, but to the prejudice of the City. Whereupon the Pope sent his Legate Matteo di Aquasparta to Florence the second time, who not only made a Peace betwixt the Cerchi and Donati, but fortified it by several marriages and alliances. Nevertheless insisting to have the Bianchi participate of the chief Offices, and being denied by the Neri, who had them in possession, he left the City as ill satisfied as before, and again excommunicated it for its disobedience. Thus both Parties continued discontented. The Neri, seeing their Enemies so near, were apprehensive least by their destruction they should recover the honours and authority which they had lost; and as if these fears and animosities had been not sufficient to do mischief, new affronts and injuries were offered.

Nicolas de Cerchi, being going with some of his Friends to some of his houses, as he passed by the Ponte ad Africo, was assaulted by Simon, son of Corso Donati. The Conflict was sharp, and on either side deplorable, for Nicolas was killed upon the place, and Simon so wounded that he died the next morning. This accident disturbed the whole City afresh; and though the Neri were indeed most culpable, yet they were protected by the Government, and before judgment could be obtained, a Conspiracy was discovered between the Bianchi and Piero Terranti (one of Charles his Barons), with whom they practised privately to be restored to the Government. The Plot was detected by several Letters from the Cerchi to the said Piero, though some imagined they were counterfeited by the Donati, to divert the infamy they had incurred by the assassination of Nicolas. The Cerchi and all their Clan were at this time Prisoners to the Donati (and among the rest Dante the Poet), their Estates were confiscated, and their Houses demolished. Their Party, with several of the Ghibilines, that had joyned themselves with them, were dispersed up and down in sundry places, attending new Troubles to better their condition; and Charles having finished what he designed when he came thither, returned to the Pope in pursuance of his Expedition into Sicily, in which he managed himself with no more Prudence than he had done in Florence;

but losing many of his men, he went back into France, with no little dishonour.

After Charles was departed, for some time Florence was quiet; only Corso was dissatisfied, as not thinking himself in authority equal to his deserts: for the Government being in the hands of the People, he believed it managed by such as were much his inferiours. Moved, therefore, by these provocations to varnish over a foul design with a fair pretence, he calumniated several Citizens who had had charge of the Publick money, for embezzling it, and applying it to their private use; giving out that it was fit they should be inquired after, and punished: several of his mind did the same, and many others by their ignorance and credulity were perswaded that what Corso did was out of pure care and affection to his Country. On the other side, the persons accused, having the favour of the People, stood upon their justification, and so far these differences proceeded, that after several expostulations and civil controversies, they came at length to take Arms. On one side there were Corso, Lotieri Bishop of Florence, with many of the Nobility, and some of the Commons. On the other side there were the Signori and the greatest part of the People: so that there was fighting in many parts of the City. The Signori, perceiving their affairs in some danger, sent to Lucca for aid, and immediately all the People in Lucca came in to their assistance; by whose supervention things were presently composed, the tumults asswaged, and the People continued in their former Liberty and Government, without any other punishment of the Author of the scandal. The Pope had heard of the tumults at Florence, and sent thither Nicolas da Prato his Legate to appease them, who, for his quality, learning, and behaviour, being a man of great reputation, he quickly obtained such credit with the People, that they gave him authority to reform or model their Government as he pleased. Being of the Ghibiline Faction, he was inclined to call home those of that Party who were banished: But first he thought it convenient to ingratiate with the People, by restoring their ancient Companies, which Act added as much strength to their interest as it took away from the Nobles. When he had, as he thought, sufficiently obliged the multitude, the Legate designed to call home the Exiles, and tried many ways to effect it, but was so far from succeeding in any of them, that he rendered

himself suspected to the Governours, was forced out of the City, and leaving all in confusion, in a great passion he excommunicated it at his departure. Nor was this City molested with one humour only, but several; there being at once the factions betwixt the Nobility and the People, the Guelfs and the Ghibilines, the Bianchi and the Neri. At that time all the City was in Arms, and many Bickerings happened. Many were discontented at the Legate's departure, being willing the banished Citizens should return. The Chief of them who raised the report were the Medici and the Giugni, who (with the Legate) were discovered to be favourers of the Rebels; in the interim Skirmishes and Rencounters passed in several places of the Town, and to add to their Calamity, a Fire broke out in the Orto S. Michael among the houses of the Abbati; from thence it went to the houses of the Caponsacchi, and burned them; from thence to the houses of the Macci, Amieri, Toschi, Cipriani, Lamberti, Cavalcanti, and all the new Market; from thence it passed to the Porta S. Maria, burned that, and then wheeling about to the old Bridge, it consumed the Palaces of the Gherardini, Pulci, Amidei, Lucardesi, and with them so many other houses, that the number of all that were consumed by that Fire amounted to more than thirteen hundred. Some were of opinion it began by accident in the height of the Conflict. Others affirm it was done on purpose by Neri Abbati, Prior of S. Piero Scharagio (a dissolute and mischievous person), who seeing everybody engaged, thought he might commit a piece of wickedness then, which nobody should be able to remedy; and to the end it might succeed the better, and give less suspicion of him, he set the houses of his own party on fire, where he could do it with convenience. These Conflicts, and this Conflagration, happened in July 1304, at which time Corso Donati was the only person who did not arm in those tumults; and not without reason, for thereby he presumed (when weary of their fighting they should incline to an agreement) he should more easily be chosen Umpire betwixt them.

At length all Arms indeed were laid down, but more that they were tired, and weary of their miseries, than from any relentment or condescension on either side. The whole consequence of all was, that the Rebels were not suffered to return, and the Party which favoured them was forced to comply. The Legate being

come back to Rome, and understanding the new distractions in Florence, persuaded the Pope that if he designed to compose them, it would be necessary to send for twelve of the Principal Malecontents of that City, which being the nourishment and fomentors of their miseries, their miseries would cease as soon as they were removed. The Pope took his Counsel, sent for twelve of the chief Citizens (who came to Rome in obedience to his summons), and among them Corso Donati was one. Upon the departure of these Citizens, the Legate signified to the Exiles that now was their time (the City being destitute of their Heads) to return. Whereupon the Citizens which were banished, getting what force together they were able, they marched to Florence, entered where the Walls were unfinished, and passed on as far as the Piazza of S. John. It was a remarkable passage to consider, that those people who fought in their behalf whilst humbly and unarmed they begged to be admitted, seeing them come forcibly into the City with their weapons in their hands, turned against them immediately, and joining with the people, beat them out of the City. This Enterprize was lost by leaving part of their forces at Lastra, and not attending the arrival of Tolosetto Uberti, who was coming from Pistoia with three hundred horse; but supposing Expedition of greater importance to their success than strength, they found (as many had done before), *That delay takes away the opportunity, and celerity the force.* The Rebels repulsed, Florence returned to its old Divisions. To lessen the Authority of the Cavalcanti, the People assaulted and took from them the Castle of Stinche in the Val di Greve, which had belonged anciently to that family; and because those who were taken in this Castle were the first which were put in the new-built Prisons, that Building took its name from the Castle from whence they came, was called Le Stinche from thence, and is called so to this day.

After this, those who had the Government in their hands re-established the Companies of the People; gave them the Ensigns which had been used at first under the discipline of the Arts. The Captains, the Gonfalonieri of the Companies, and the College of the Signori were called, and orders were given that they should assist the Signoria or Senate at all times, in time of Commotion or Injury, with their Swords, and in time of Peace with their

Counsels. To the two old Governours they added another called Essecutore, whose Office it was by conjunction with the Gonfalonieri to restrain and correct the insolence of the Grandees. In the meantime the Pope dying, Corso and his fellow Citizens returned from Rome, and might have lived quietly, had not the insatiableness of Corso's ambition created new troubles. To gain reputation, it was always his custom to oppose the sentiment of the Nobility in whatever was proposed; and which way he observed the people to encline, thither he constantly directed his Authority, to work himself into their favour; so that in all Innovations and Controversies he was the Head; all persons resorting to him who had anything extraordinary in design. Hereupon he became so odious to several considerable Citizens, that the faction of the Neri subdivided, and fell into open division among themselves, because Corso made use of private Force and Authority, and of such Persons as were enemies to the State. Yet such was the Awe and Majesty of his Person, that everybody feared him; to deprive him of the people's favour (which, that way, was easily disengaged), it was given out that he designed upon the Government, and meant to make himself King: Which from his extravagant way of living was credible enough, and much confirmed when afterwards he married a daughter of Uguccione della Faggivola, chief of the Bianchi and Ghibilines, and the most powerful Person in the City. This Alliance was no sooner known among his enemies but his adversaries took Arms, and the people for that reason were so far from appearing in his defence, that the greater part of them joyned with his enemies. The Chief of his enemies (and who were at the head of them) were Rosso della Tosa, Pazzino de Pazzo, Geri Spini, and Berto Brunelleschi. They, their followers, and the greatest part of the people ran with their Swords drawn to the foot of the Palace of the Signori, by whose order an accusation was preferred to Piero Bianchi, Captain of the people, against Corso, as a person who (by the assistance of Uguccione) conspired to be King. Upon this impeachment he was summoned, and refusing to appear, was declared a Rebel for his Contumacy; there having been but two hours time betwixt the accusation and sentence: judgment pronounced, the Signori, with the several Companies of the people (their Banners displayed), went presently to apprehend him.

Corso, on the other side, not at all dismayed either at the severity of the sentence, the authority of the Signori, nor the inconstancy of his friends (who had many of them forsaken him), fell to fortifying his house, hoping to have defended himself there till Uguccione (to whom he had sent word of his condition) should come to his rescue. His houses and avenues were fortified and barricadoed by him, and strengthened with such Garrisons of his friends, that though the people were very numerous and pressed hard to have entered them, they could not prevail. The Conflict was smart, many killed and wounded on both sides, and the people finding there was no entrance that way by force, got into the houses of his Neighbours, and through them they brake unexpectedly into his. Corso finding himself invironed by his Enemies, and no hopes of relief from Uguccione, despairing of Victory, he resolved to try what was possible for his Escape; advancing therefore with Gherardo Bondini and several other his most faithful and valiant friends, he charged so furiously upon his Enemies, that he brake them, and made his way thorow them (fighting) out of the Porta della Croce: Nevertheless being pursued, Gherardo was slain by Boccacio Cavicciulli upon the Africa, and Corso was taken Prisoner at Rouezano by certain Spanish horsemen belonging to the Signoria. But disdaining the sight of his victorious Enemies, and to prevent the torments which they would probably inflict, as they were bringing him back towards Florence, he threw himself off his horse, and was cut to pieces by one of the Company, his body was gathered together by the Monks of S. Salvi, and buried, but without any solemnity. This was the sad End of that Magnanimous Person, to whom his Country and the Neri owed much of their good fortune and ill; and doubtless had his mind been more moderate, his memory would have been more honourable; however, he deserves a place amongst the best Citizens this City did ever produce, though indeed the turbulency of his Spirit caused his Country and Party both to forget their obligations to him, and at length procured his death, and many mischiefs to them. Uguccione coming to the relief of his Son-in-Law as far as Remoli, and hearing he was taken by the people, presuming he could do him no good, to save his own stake, he returned back as he came.

Corso being dead in the year 1308, all tumults ceased, and

everybody lived quietly till news was brought that Henry the Emperor was come into Italy with all the Florentine Exiles in his Company, whom he had promised to reinstate in their own Country. To obviate this, and lessen the number of their Enemies, the Magistrates thought fit of themselves to reinvite all those who had been rebels, but some few which were particularly excepted. Those which were excepted were the greatest part of the Ghibilines, and some of the faction of the Bianchi, among which were Dante Alighieri, the Sons of Veri de Cerchi and Giano della Bella. They sent likewise to desire the assistance of Robert King of Naples, but not prevailing in an amicable way without terms, they gave him the Government of their City for five years, upon condition he would defend them as his subjects. The Emperor in his passage came to Pisa, and from thence coasting along the shore, he went to Rome, where he was Crowned in the year 1312; after which, addressing himself to the subduction of the Florentines, he marcht by the way of Perugia and Arezzo to Florence, and posted himself with his Army at the Monastery of St. Salvi, where he continued fifty days without any considerable exploit. Despairing of success against that City, he moved to Pisa, confederated with the King of Sicily to make an Enterprize upon Naples, and marched forward with his Army; but whilst he thought himself sure of Victory, and Robert gave himself for lost, the Emperor died at Buonconvento, and that Expedition miscarried. Not long after it fell out that Uguccione became Lord of Pisa, and by degrees of Lucca, where he joyned himself with the Ghibilines, and by the assistance of that faction committed great depredations upon the Neighbours. The Florentines to free themselves from his Excursions, desired King Robert that his Brother Piero might have the Command of their Army. In the meantime Uguccione was not idle. To increase his numbers and extend his dominion, partly by force and partly by stratagem, he had possessed himself of many strong Castles in the Valleys of Arno and Nievole, and having advanced so far as to besiege Monte Catani, the Florentines thought it necessary to relieve it, lest otherwise that Conflagration should consume their whole Country. Having drawn together a great Army, they marched into the Val di Nievole, gave battel to Uguccione, and after a sharp fight were defeated. In the battel they lost 2000 men,

besides Piero the King's Brother, whose body could never be found. Nor was the Victory on Uguccione's side without some qualification, he having lost one of his Sons and several Officers of Note.

After this disaster the Florentines fortified at home as much as they could, and King Robert sent them a new General called the Conte di Andrea, with the title of Conte Novello. By his deportment (or rather by the Genius of the Florentines, whose property it is to increase upon every settlement, and to fall afterwards into factions upon every accident), notwithstanding their present War with Uguccione, they divided again, and some were for King Robert and others against him. The chief of his Adversaries were Simon della Tosa, the Magalotti, and other popular Families, who had greatest interest in the Government. These persons sent first to France, and then into Germany, to raise Men and invite Officers, that by their assistance they might be able to rid themselves of their new Governour the Conte. But their fortune was adverse, and neither could be procured. Nevertheless they gave not their Enterprize over, though they had been disappointed both in Germany and France; they found out an Officer in Agobbio; having driven out King Robert's Governour, they sent for Laudo from Agobbio, and made him Essecutore, or indeed Executioner, giving him absolute power over their whole City. Laudo being naturally cruel and avaricious, marched with armed men up and down the City, plundering this place and killing in that, as those who sent for him gave him directions; and not content with this insolence, he coyned false money with the Florentine stamp, and no man had the power to oppose it; to such grandeur was he arrived by the dissention of the Citizens. Miserable certainly, and much to be lamented, was the Condition of this City, which neither the Consequences of their former divisions, their apprehension of Uguccione, nor the Authority of a King was sufficient to unite. Abroad they were infested by Uguccione; at home they were pillaged by Laudo; and yet no reconciliation. The King's Friends, many of the Nobility, several great men of the Populace, and all the Guelfs were Enemies to Laudo and his party. Nevertheless, the Adversary having the Authority in his hand, they could not without manifest danger discover themselves; however, that they might not be deficient

in what they were able to do towards the freeing themselves of so dishonourable a Tyranny, they writ privately to King Robert to intreat that he would make Conte Guido da Battefolle his Lieutenant in Florence. The King granted their request, sent the Conte to them forthwith, and the adverse party (though the Signori also were Enemies to the King) had not the Courage to oppose him. But the Conte for all that had not much Authority conferred, because the Signori and Gonfalonieri of the Companies were favourers of Laudo and his accomplices.

During these troubles in Florence, the daughter of Alberto coming out of Germany, passed by the City in her way to her husband Charles, Son to King Robert. She was very honourably received by such as were friends to the King, who complaining to her of the sad Condition of their City, and the Tyranny of Laudo and his party, she promised her assistance, and by the help of her interposition, and such as were sent thither from the King, the Citizens were reconciled, Laudo deposed from his Authority, and sent home to Agobbio full of treasure and blood. Laudo being gone, they fell to Reform, and the Signoria was confirmed by the King for three years longer; and because before there were seven in the Senate of Laudo's party, six new were chosen of the King's, and they continued thirteen for some time; but they were reduced afterwards to seven, their old number.

About this time Uguccione was driven out of Lucca and Pisa, and Castruccio Castracani, a Citizen of Lucca, succeeded him in the Government; and being a brave and courageous young Gentleman, and fortunate in all his Undertakings, in a short time he made himself Chief of the Ghibiline faction in Tuscany. For this cause, laying aside their private discords, the Florentines for several years made it their business, first to obstruct the growth of Castruccio's Power, and afterwards (in case he should grow powerful against their will), to consider which way they were to defend themselves against him: and that the Signori might deliberate with more Counsel, and execute with more Authority, they created twelve Citizens, which they called Buonhuomini, without whose advice and concurrence the Signori were not to do anything of importance. In the meantime the Authority of King Robert expired; the Government devolved once more upon the City, which set up the old Rectori and Magistrates as formerly,

and their fear of Castruccio kept them Friends and united. Castruccio after many brave things performed against the Lords of Luginiani, sat down before Prato: The Florentines alarmed at the news, resolved to relieve it, and shutting up their Shops, they got together in a confused and tumultuous manner about 20,000 Foot and 1500 Horse; and to lessen the force of Castruccio and add to their own, Proclamation was made by the Signori, that whatever Rebel of the Guelfs should come in to the relief of Prato should be restored afterwards to his Country: Upon which Proclamation more than 4000 of the Guelfs came in and joyned with them, by which accession their Army being become formidable, they marched with all speed towards Prato; but Castruccio having no mind to hazard a Battel against so considerable a force, drew off and retreated to Lucca. Upon his retreat, great Controversie arose in the Army betwixt the Nobility and the People. The People would have pursued, and fought, in hopes to have overcome and destroyed him; the Nobility would return, alledging they had done enough already in exposing Florence for the relief of Prato. That there being a necessity for that, it was well enough done; but now no necessity being upon them, little to be gotten, and much to be lost, Fortune was not to be tempted nor the Enemy to be followed. Not being able to accord among themselves, the business was referred to the Signori, which consisting of Nobility and Commons, they fell into the same difference of opinion, which being known to the City, they assembled in great multitudes in the Piazza, threatening the Nobility highly, till at last they condescended. But their resolution coming too late, and many constrained to joyn it against their perswasions, the Enemy had time, and drew safely off to Lucca. This difference put the people into such a huff against the Nobility, the Signori refused to perform the Promise they made to the Rebels which came in upon Proclamation, which the Rebels perceiving, they resolved to be beforehand, if possible, and accordingly presented themselves at the Gates of the City to be admitted before the Army came up; but their design being suspected, miscarried, and they were beaten back by those who were left in the Town: To try if they could obtain that by treaty which they could not compass by force, they sent eight Ambassadors to the Signori, to com-

memorate to them the Faith they had given; the dangers they had run thereupon; and that it could not be unreasonable they should have their promised reward. The Nobility thought themselves obliged, having promised them particularly as well as the Signori, and therefore employed all their interest for the advantage of the Rebels; but the Commons (being enraged that the Enterprize against Castruccio was not prosecuted as it might have been) would not consent; which turned afterwards to the great shame and dishonour of the City. The Nobility being many of them disgusted thereat, endeavoured that by force which was denyed them upon applications, and agreed with the Guelfs that if they would attempt their entrance without, they would take up Arms in their assistance within; but their Plot being discovered the Day before it was to be executed, when the banished Guelfs came to make their attack, they found the City in Arms, and all things so well disposed to repell them without, and suppress those within, that none of them durst venture, and so the Enterprize was given over without any effort. The Rebels being departed, it was thought fit those Persons should be punished who invited them thither; nevertheless though everybody could point at the Delinquents, yet nobody durst name them, much more accuse them. That the truth might impartially be known, it was ordered that the Names of the Offenders should be written down, and delivered privately to the Captain; which being done, the Persons accused were Amerigo Donati, Teghiaio Frescobaldi, and Loteringo Gherardini, whose Judges being now more favourable than (perhaps) their crime deserved, they were only condemned to pay a Sum of Money, and came off.

The tumults in Florence upon the alarm by the Rebels demonstrated clearly that to the Company of the People one Captain was not sufficient; and therefore it was ordered for the future that every Company should have three or four, and every Gonfalonier two or three joyned to them, which should be called Pennonieri, that, in case of necessity, where the whole Company could not be drawn out, part of it might appear under one of the said Officers. And as it happens in all Commonwealths, after any great accident, some or other of the old Laws are abrogated, and others revived to supply them, so the Signoria being at first but occasional and temporary, the Senators and Collegi then in being (having the

power in their hands) took Authority upon themselves to make a Council of the Signori, which should sit forty Months for the future, their Names being to be put into a Purse, and drawn out every two Months. But forasmuch as many of the Citizens were jealous their Names were not in the Purse, there was a new Imborsation before the forty Months began. Hence it was the custom of the Purse had its Origin, and was used in the Creation of their Magistrates both at home and abroad, whereas formerly they were chosen by a Council of the Successors, as the term of the Office began to expire. At first this way of election was called *Imborsationi*, and afterwards *Squittini*. And because every three, or at most five, years this custom was to be used, it was thought they had prevented great mischiefs to the City, occasioned by multitude of Competitors, and tumults at every election of Magistrates, which tumults being to be corrected no way (in their Judgments) so readily, they pitched upon this, not discerning the evils which they concealed under so small a convenience. It was now in the year 1325, when Castruccio having seized on Pistoia, was grown so considerable, that the Florentines (jealous of his greatness) resolved before he had settled his new conquest, to fall upon him, and recover it (if possible) out of his hands. Whereupon of Citizens and their Friends they assembled 20,000 Foot and 3000 Horse, and encamped before Alto Pascio, by taking it, to render the relief of Pistoia the more difficult. The Florentines took that Pass, and when they had done, they marched towards Lucca, foraging and wasting the Country. But by the Imprudence and Treachery of their Commander, little progress was made. This Person (called Ramondo da Cardona) observing the Florentines to have been very liberal of their Liberty, and to have conferred the Government sometimes upon Kings, sometimes upon Legates, and sometimes upon more inferiour Persons, he thought with himself, that if he could bring them into any exigence or distress, it might easily fall out that they would make him their Prince; to this purpose he frequently desired and pressed to have the same Authority invested in him in the City as he had in the Army, otherwise he could not require nor expect that Obedience which was necessary for a General. The Florentines not hearing on that Ear, their Captain proceeded but slowly, neglecting his time as much as Castruccio improved it; for Castruccio having procured

supplies from the Visconti and other Princes of Lombardy, and made himself strong, Ramondo (who before lost his opportunity of conquering for want of fidelity) now lost the possibility of preserving himself, for want of discretion; for marching up and down lazily with his Army, he was overtaken by Castruccio near Alto Pascio, assaulted, and after a long fight, broken to pieces; in which Action many Florentines were taken Prisoners and Killed, and their General among the rest, who received the reward of his Infidelity and ill Counsel from Fortune herself, which had been more properly bestowed by the hands of the Florentines. The calamities which Castruccio introduced upon the Florentines after his Victory, the Depredations, Imprisonments, Ruines, and Burnings, are not to be expressed; having no Body to oppose him, for several Months together he went where and did what he had a mind to, and the Florentines thought themselves happy (after such a defeat) if they could save the City. Nevertheless they were not so desperately low, but they made great provisions of Money, raised what Soldiers was possible, and sent to their Friends for assistance; but no providence was sufficient against such an Enemy: they were forced therefore to make choice of Carlo Duke of Calabria (the Son of King Robert) to be their Sovereign, if it would please him to undertake their defence; for that Family having been used to the Supremacy of that City, they promised him rather their Obedience than Friendship. But Carlo being personally employed in the Wars of Sicily, he sent Gualtieri, a French Man and Duke of Athens, to take possession in his behalf. He as his Master's Lieutenant, took possession of the Government, and created Magistrates as he pleased. Notwithstanding his behaviour was so modest, and in a manner so contrary to his own Nature, every one loved him. Having finished his War in Sicily, Charles came with a thousand Horse to Florence, and made his entry in July 1326. His arrival gave some impediment to Castruccio, and kept him from rummaging up and down the Country with that freedom and security which he had formerly done.

But what the City gained abroad, it lost at home, and when their Enemies were restrained, they became exposed to the insolence and oppression of their Friends: for the Signori acting nothing without the consent of the Duke, in a year's time he drained the City of four hundred thousand Florins, though in the

Articles of agreement it was expressly provided he should not exceed 200,000. So great were the Impositions which he, or his Father, laid upon the Town; and yet, as if these were too few, their miseries were increased by an accumulation of new jealousies and new enemies. For the Ghibilines of Lombardy were so fearful of Carlos' advance into Tuscany, that Galeazzo Visconti, and the rest of the Princes of Lombardy, with Money and fair Promises persuaded Louis of Bavaria (who had been elected Emperor against the Pope's will) to pass into Italy with an Army. Being arrived in Lombardy, he passed forward into Tuscany, made himself Master of Pisa by the assistance of Castruccio, and having received a considerable supply of Money there, he marched on towards Rome: Whereupon Charles (being fearful of his Kingdom, and leaving Philippo da Saginnitto his Lieutenant in Florence) went home with the Force he brought with him. Upon his departure, Castruccio seized upon Pisa, and the Florentines got Pistoia by stratagem: Castruccio marched immediately to recover it, sat down before it, and managed his business with so much conduct and resolution, that though the Florentines made many attempts to relieve it, both by insults upon his Army and incursions into his Country, their Attacks and their Diligences were all ineffectual; they could not possibly remove him; for so firmly was he resolved to chastise the Pistoians and weaken the Florentines, that the Pistoians were constrained to surrender, and receive him once more for their Lord; by which Action, as he contracted much Honour and Renown, so he thereby contracted so much Sickness and Infirmity, that he died shortly after upon his return to Lucca. And, because one ill or good accident goes seldom alone, Charles Duke of Calabria and Lord of Florence died at Naples much about the same time; so that in a very small space the Florentines were freed from the oppression of the one and the apprehension of the other. They were no sooner free but they fell to reforming, nulled all the Laws and Ordinances of the ancient Councils, and created two new, one of them consisting of three hundred of the Commons, the other of two hundred both Commons and Gentlemen; the first was called the Council of the People, and the second the Common Council.

The Emperor being arrived at Rome, he created an Anti-Pope, decreed many things to the prejudice of the Church, and at-

tempted more, which he was not able to carry; that so at length he removed (with no little disgrace) from Rome to Pisa, where, either disdaining his Conduct or for want of their Pay, eight hundred German Horse mutinyed, fortified themselves at Monte Ariaro, and as he was departed from Pisa towards Lombardy, possessed themselves of Lucca, and drave out Francisco Castracani, whom the Emperor had left Governour of the Town. Being Masters of that City, and their intentions to make what profit of it they could, they offered it to the Florentines for twenty thousand Florins, but by the advice of Simon della Tosa it was refused. This resolution would have been much to the advantage of our City, had the Florentines persevered, but changing it afterwards, it proved much to their detriment; for refusing it at the time when they might have had it so cheap, they had much more for it afterwards, and were denied it; which was the occasion that Florence changed its Government often, to its great inconvenience. Lucca being refused in this manner by the Florentines, was purchased for 30,000 Florins by Gherardino Spinoli, a Genouese, and (because People are more slow and indifferent in accepting what is offered than in conceiving what is not) as soon as it was known to be bought by Gherardini, and at how cheap a rate, the Florentines were much troubled they had it not themselves, and blamed all those who had any way discouraged them. To buy it being too late, they sought to gain it by force, and to that end sent their Army to over-run and spoil the Country about it. About this time the Emperor was returned out of Italy, and the Pope, by order of the Pisani, sent Prisoner into France. The Florentines upon the death of Castruccio (which followed in the year 1328) till the year 1340, continued quiet at home, intent only upon their Wars abroad. In Lombardy upon the coming of John King of Bohemia, and in Tuscany upon the account of Lucca, they adorned their City likewise with many new Buildings, and particularly the Tower of St. Reparata, according to the directions of Giolto, the most Famous Painter in his time. Moreover, upon an innundation of the River Arno in the year 1333 (in which the Water swelling twelve fathoms high in some places of Florence, carried away several Bridges, and many Houses were ruined), they repaired all, with great care and expence. But in the year 1340 this tranquillity was disturbed, and they had new occasion of altera-

tion. The Grandees of the City had two ways to maintain and increase their Authority: one was by ordering the Imborsations so as the Magistracy should fall always either to them or their Friends. The other was by making themselves chief in the Elections of the Rettori, and thereby obliging them to be favourable to them afterwards in all their determinations. And of this second way they were so fond and conceited, that not content with two Rettori (as they had formerly), a while after they set up a third, with the Title of the Captain of the Guards, in which Office they placed Giacomo Gabrieli d'Agobbio, with absolute Power over the Citizens.

Giacomo, in the sight of the Government, committed daily many Injuries, but more especially to Piero de Baldi and Bardo Frescobaldi. Being nobly descended, and by consequence proud, they could not endure to have a stranger do them wrong, in defiance of their other Magistrates. To revenge themselves of him and the Government, they entered into a Conspiracy with several Noble and Popular Families in the City, who were disgusted with their Tyranny. The manner concluded upon was, that every one should get as many Armed Men into his House as he could, and that on All-Saints' Day in the Morning, when all the People were at Mass, they should take Arms, kill the Captain and the Chief of their Governours, and afterwards make new Magistrates and new Laws for the State. But because dangerous enterprizes, the more considered, are always the less willingly undertaken, it happens that Plots which allow too much time for their Execution are generally discovered: There being among the Conspirators a Gentleman called Andrea di Bardi, whose fear of Punishment prevailing upon him beyond his desire of Revenge, he betrayed all to Giacomo Alberti, his Kinsman, Giacomo imparted it immediately to the Priori, and the Priori to the Governors. And because the design was so near Execution, All-Saints' Day being at hand, many of the Citizens assembled in the Palace, and judging it unsafe to defer, they would needs persuade the Signori to cause the great Bell to be rung, and the People commanded to their Arms. Taldo Valori was at that time Gonfaloniere, and Francisco Salviati one of the Signori. Being Relations of the Bardi, they dissuaded the sounding of the Bell, alledging it was not secure to Arm the People upon trivial Occasions, because

Authority given to them, without some power reserved to restrain them, was never known to produce any good, and that it was much easier to raise a Tumult than to suppress it. They judged it better therefore to inquire farther into the verity of the thing, and punish it rather Civilly (if it appeared to be true), than in a furious and tumultuous manner to correct it, perhaps with the destruction of the whole City. But these Arguments served not the turn, but with Villanous language and Insolent behaviour, the Signori were constrained to cause the Bell to be rung, upon which the People immediately took Arms and away to the Piazza. The Bardi and Frescobaldi perceiving they were discovered, and resolving to overcome with Honour or die without Shame, betook themselves to their Arms, hoping they would be able to defend that part of the City beyond the Bridge where their Houses were; whereupon they broke down the Bridges and fortified themselves, till they should be relieved by the Nobility of the Country and other Persons their Friends. But that design was frustrated by the People which lived among them in the same part of the City, who took up Arms for the Signori; finding themselves entermixt, and that design not like to succeed, they abandoned the Bridges, and retreated to the Street where the Bardi dwelt, as stronger than the rest, where they made a most valiant defence. Jacomo d'Agobbio knew well enough that all this Conspiracy was against him; and having no great inclination to be killed, in a terrible fright, with his hair standing right up, he ran to the Palace of the Signori, and secured himself among the thickest of the Armed Men. The other of the Rettori, though not so conscious, were much more courageous, especially the Podesta called Maffeo da Maradi, who presented himself where they were fighting, and passing the Bridge Rubaconte, threw himself undauntedly among the Swords of the Bardi, and made a sign for a Parley. Upon which, out of reverence to his Person, his Courage, and good Qualities, they let fall their Arms, and stood quietly to attend him. In a modest and grave harangue he blamed their proceedings; remonstrated the danger they were in, if they did not yield to the indignation of the People; he gave them hopes likewise of a fair hearing and a merciful sentence, and promised his intercession for them; then returning to their Signori, he persuaded that they would not use extremities, and conquer with the loss of so

many Citizens' lives, nor condemn without hearing. In short, so far he obtained, that by consent of the Signori, Baldi, Frescobaldi, and their Friends left the City, and retired to their Castles without any Impediment. They being gone and the People disarmed, the Signori proceeded only against such of the Families of the Baldi and Frescobaldi as had taken Arms, and to lessen their Power, they bought the Castles of Mangona and Vernia of the Bardi, and made a Law that no Citizen should for the future possess any Castle within twenty Miles of Florence. Not many months after, Stialta Frescobaldi and several others of that Family were beheaded, having been proclaimed Rebels before.

But it was not sufficient for these Governours to have conquered and suppressed the Baldi and Frescobaldi; like other people (whose insolence for the most part increases with their Power), they grew imperious as they grew strong. Whereas before the Florentines had only one Captain of the Guards to assist them, they chose another now for the Country, investing him with great Authority, that those Persons whom they suspected might not be suffered to live quietly either within the City or without; and besides this, they abused and provoked the Nobility in such manner that they were ready to sacrifice and sell both themselves and City to be revenged; and watching for an occasion, they met one, and improved it. By the many troubles in Lombardy and Tuscany, Lucca was fallen under the Dominion of Mastino della Scala, Lord of Verona, who engaged to deliver it up to the Florentines, but did not perform; for being Lord of Parma, he thought himself able to keep it, and valued not the breach of his Faith. The Florentines, in revenge, joyned with the Venetians, and made such war upon him, he had well nigh lost most of his Territory: but the Florentines got little by it, more than the satisfaction to have distressed Mastino: for the Venetians (according to the practice of all States when entered into League with People less powerful than themselves), having taken Trevigi and Vicenza, made a peace without any regard to the Florentines. A while after, the Visconti, Lords of Milan, having taken Parma from Mastino, conceiving himself unable to keep Lucca any longer, he resolved to sell it. The Florentines and the Pisani were Competitors in the purchase, and whilst the bargain was driving, the Pisani, perceiving the Florentines like to carry it,

in respect that they were the more wealthy of the two, they betook themselves to force, and joyning with the Visconti, they sat down before it. The Florentines not at all discouraged, proceeded in their bargain, and having concluded their terms, they paid down part of the Money to Mastino, and giving Hostages for the rest, the Town was to be delivered; whereupon Naddo Ruccellai, Giovanni di Bernardino de' Medici, and Rosso di Ricciardo de Ricci were sent to take possession, who passing by force into Lucca, they were received by Mastino, and the Town delivered up into their hands. However, the Pisani continued their siege, and endeavoured by all possible industry to gain it by force. The Florentines on the other side were as sollicitous to relieve it; but after a long War, with great dishonour and the loss of their Money, they were driven out of it, and the Town became subject to the Pisans. The loss of this City, as in such cases doth frequently happen, put the People of Florence into a Mutiny against their Governours, so that in all places they upbraided the conduct and administration of their Superiors.

At the beginning of the War, the management of the Military affairs was committed to twenty Citizens, who made Maletesta di Rimini their General, who having executed his Command with little courage and less discretion, they applyed themselves to Robert King of Naples for assistance. In complyance with their request, King Robert sent them supplies under the Command of Gualtieri Duke of Athens, who (the Heavens ordaining that all things should concur to their future misery) arrived at Florence at the very time when the Enterprize of Lucca was utterly lost. The twenty Governours of the Militia, seeing the People enraged, thought by choosing a new General, either to inspire them with new hopes or take away the occasion of their obloquy; and because their fears were still upon them, that the Duke of Athens might defend them the better, they first made him Conservator, and afterwards General. The Nobility, upon the reasons above said, being highly discontented, and many of them retaining a correspondence with Gualtieri ever since he was Governour of Florence in the behalf of Charles Duke of Calabria, they began to think now was their time to wreak their malice and to ruine the City, believing there was no way left them to subdue the People who had insulted so long but by subjecting them to a

Prince who, knowing the Generosity of the Nobless and the insolence of the Commons, might recompense both according to their deserts; besides, they presumed it would be something meritorious if upon their motion and by their co-operation he acquired the Government. In pursuance of this design they had many private meetings, in which they prest him to take the Government wholly into his hands, and they would assist him to the utmost. Nor were the Nobility alone in this business; some of the Popular families (as the Peruzzi, Acciaivoli, Antellesi, and Buonaccorsi) joyned themselves with them; for being much in debt, and unable out of their own Estates to clear themselves, they plotted against other Peoples, and to free themselves of their Creditors, made no scruple of enslaving their Country. These persuasions exasperated the Ambition of the Duke, who, to gain the reputation among the people of being just and exact, persecuted those who had the management of the Wars against Lucca, caused Giovan de' Medici, Naddo Ruccellai, and Gulielmo Altoviti to be put to death, banished several others, and others he fined. These Executions startled the middle sort of the Citizens, only the Grandees and the Common People were satisfied; the last out of their natural pleasure in mischief, the first to see themselves so handsomely revenged for the insolencies they had received from the People. Whereupon, whenever the Duke appeared in the streets, he was pursued with acclamations and applauses of his integrity, everyone exhorting him to go on in finding out and punishing the frauds of their Neighbours. The Authority of the Twenty was much lessened, the Duke's reputation increased, and a general fear of him overspread the whole City; so that to show their affections towards him, all People caused his Arms to be painted upon their Houses, and nothing but the bare title was wanting to make him a Prince. Being now in a condition (as he thought) of attempting anything securely, he caused it to be signified to the Senate, that for the good of the Publick he judged it necessary they should transfer their Authority upon him, and that (seeing the whole City approved it) he desired he might have resignation. The Signori, having long foreseen the ruine of their Country approaching, were much troubled at the message: They were sensible of the danger they were in, yet not to be deficient in any Act of duty to their Country, they refused him couragiously.

As a pretence and specimen of his Religion and Humility, the Duke had taken up his quarters in the Monastery of St. Croce, and being desirous to give the finishing stroke to his wicked designs, he by Proclamation required all the People to appear before him the next morning in the Piazza belonging to that Monastery. This Proclamation alarmed the Signori more than his message, whereupon joyning themselves with such as were lovers both of their Liberty and Country, upon consideration of the Power of the Duke, and that their force was insufficient, it was resolved they should address themselves to him in an humble and supplicatory way, to try if by their Prayers they might prevail with him to give his Enterprize over, or else to execute it with more moderation. All things being concluded, part of the Signori were sent to attend him, and one of them accosted him in this manner:—

My Lord, we are come hither, moved first by your Proposal, and next by your Proclamation for assembling the People, presuming your resolution is to obtain that by force to which upon private application we have not consented: it is not our design to oppose force against force, but rather to remonstrate the burden and heaviness of that load you would take upon yourself, and the dangers which will probably occur. And this we do, that you may hereafter remember, aud distinguish betwixt ours and the Counsel of such as advise the contrary, not so much out of respect and deference to your advantage, as for the venting their own private fury and revenge. Your endeavour is to bring this City into servitude (which has always lived free) because the Government has been formerly given by us to the King of Naples, whereas that was rather an association than a subjection. Have you considered how important and dear the name of Liberty is to us? A thing no force can extirpate, no time can extinguish, nor no merit preponderate. Think, Sir, I beseech you, what Power will be necessary to keep such a City in subjection. All the strangers you can entertain will not be sufficient; those which are Inhabitants you cannot prudently trust; for though at present they are Friends, and have pushed you forward upon this resolution, yet, as soon as they have glutted themselves upon their Enemies, their next Plot will be to expel you, and make themselves Princes. The People in whom your greatest confidence is placed will turn, upon every slight accident, against you, so that in a short

time you will run a hazzard of having the whole City your Enemies, which will infallibly be the ruine both of it and yourself; because those Princes only can be secure whose Enemies are but few, and they easily removed either by banishment or death; but against universal hatred there is no security, because the spring and fountain is not known, and he that fears every Man can be safe against no Man. If yet you persist, and take all possible care to preserve yourself, you do but encumber yourself with more danger, by exciting their hatred, and making them more intent and serious in their revenge. That time is not able to eradicate our desire of Liberty is most certain. We could mention many good Cities in which it has been assumed by those who never tasted the sweetness of it, yet upon the bare character and tradition of their Fathers, they have not only valued, but fought and contended to recover it, and maintained it afterwards against all difficulties and dangers. Nay, should their Fathers have neglected or forgot to recommend it, the public Palaces, the Courts for the Magistrates, the Ensigns of their freedom (which are of necessity to be known by all Citizens) would certainly proclaim it. What action of yours can counterpoize against the sweetness of Liberty? For what can you do to expunge the desire of it out of the Hearts of the People? Nothing at all; no, though you should add all Tuscany to this State, and return every day into this City with new victory over your Enemies. The Honour would be yours, not ours; and the Citizens have gained fellow-servants rather than subjects. Nor is it the power of your deportment to establish you. Let your Life be never so exact, your conversation affable, your judgments just, your liberality never so conspicuous, all will not do, all will not gain you the affections of the People; if you think otherwise, you deceive yourself, for to People that have lived free, every link is a load and every bond a burthen. And to find a State violently acquired, to accord quietly with its Prince (though never so good) is impossible; of necessity one must comply and frame itself to the other, or else one must ruine and destroy the other. You have this therefore to consider, whether you will hold this City by violence (for which all the Guards and Citadels within, and all the Friends could be made abroad, have been many times too weak) or be content with the Authority we give you; to which last we do rather advise, because no Dominion is so durable as that which is voluntary, and the other (however your ambition may disguise it)

will but conduct you to a height, where being neither able to advance nor continue, you must tumble down of necessity, to your own great detriment as well as ours.

But the Duke's heart was too hard for such impressions as these. He replyed, *That it was not his intention to extirpate, but to establish their Liberty: that Cities divided were the only Cities that were servile, and not those that were united. That if he by his Conduct could clear their City of their Schisms, Ambitions, and Animosities, he could not be said to take away, but to restore their Liberty. That he did not assume that Office out of any ambition of his own, but accepted it at the importunity of several of the Citizens, and that they would do well to consent themselves, as their fellows had done. That as to the dangers he was like to incur, he did consider them; it was the part of an ignoble Person to decline doing good for fear of evil that might follow; and of a Coward, to lay aside a glorious Enterprize upon the meer doubtfulness of the success. That he hoped so to demean himself, that they should in a short time confess they had feared him too much and trusted him too little.*

The Senate finding by this answer no good was to be done, consented the People should meet next morning, as appointed, and the Government by their Authority to be transferred upon the Duke for a year with the same conditions it had been formerly given to the Duke of Calabria. On the 8th of September 1342, the Duke, accompanied by Giovan della Tossa, all his Consorts, and many Citizens besides, coming into the Piazza, taking the Senate with him, he mounted upon the Ringhieria (which are the Stairs at the foot of the Palagie de Signori) and caused the Articles of agreement betwixt the Senate and Him to be read. When the Person who read them came to the place where the Government was mentioned to be given to him for a year, the People cried out, For his Life, For his Life: Francesco Rustichesi, one of the Signori, rose up to have spoke, and endeavoured to compose the tumult; but he was interrupted, and could not be heard: So that he was chosen Lord by consent of the People, not for a year, but for ever, and afterwards taken and carried through the multitude with general acclamation. It is a custom among the Florentines that whoever is intrusted with the Guard of their Palace, is to be shut up in it in the absence of the Signori. That trust was at that time in the hands of Rinieri di Giolto, who being corrupted

by some of the Duke's Creatures, received him into the Palace without any constraint. The Senate being surprized and much affronted, returned to their Houses, left the Palace to be plundered by the Duke's servants, the Gonfalone del Populo to be turned out, and the Duke's Standard to be set up; all which were immediately done, to the inestimable trouble of all good Men, but to the joy and satisfaction of those who maliciously or ignorantly had consented to his exaltation.

The Duke was no sooner settled in his Dominion, but to suppress their Authority who were the greatest Propugnators of their Liberty, he forbid the Signori to meet in the Palace, and consigned them a private House: He took away the Ensigns from the Gonfalonieri of the Companies of the People: He discharged all Prisoners: He recalled the Baldi and Frescobaldi from banishment: Prohibited the wearing of Arms; and to defend himself within, he made what friends he could abroad; to that purpose he caressed the Aretini and all others which depended any way upon the Florentines' jurisdiction. He made a Peace with the Pisani (though he was become a Prince), that with the more advantage he might make War with them afterward: He took away their Bills and Assignments from the Merchants, who had lent the State money in their War with Lucca: He increased the old Gabels, and imposed new: He dissolved the Authority of the Signori, and in their places he set up three Rettori, Barglione da Perugia, Guglielmo da Cesi, and Cerrettieri Bisdomini, with whom he constantly advised. The Taxes he laid upon the People were great, his Judgments unjust, and that Humanity and Preciseness which he counterfeited at first was now turned most manifestly into Cruelty and Pride; by which means many Citizens of the more Noble and Wealthy sort were Condemned, Executed, and sometime Tortured. And that his Government might be as unsupportable aboard as at home, he instituted six new Rettori for the regiment of the Country, who carryed themselves with the same insolence and oppression there as he did in the City. He was jealous of the Nobility, though he had been often obliged by them, and some of them had been recalled from their banishment by him; yet he could not imagine it compatible with the generosity of a Noble Spirit to submit and truckle to him. Hence it was he applyed himself to the

People, cajoling them, and screwing into their favour, by which, and his power abroad, he doubted not to be able to justifie his proceedings, how unjust and tyrannical soever. The month of May being come, in which the People were wont to make merry, he caused the inferiour sort of the People to be disposed into several Companies, gave them Ensigns and Money, and honoured them with splendid Titles, so that half of the City went up and down feasting and junketing among their Brethren, while the other half was as busie to entertain them. The fame of his new Dominion being spread abroad, many Persons of French extraction repaired to him, and he preferred them all, as the most faithful of his friends; so that in a short time Florence was not only subject to the Frenchmen, but to the French customs and garb; all People, Men as well as Women, without respect of indecency or inconvenience, imitating them in all things: But that which was incomparably the most displeasing, was the violence he and his Creatures used to the Women, without any regret. Upon these provocations the Citizens were full of indignation. It troubled them to see the Majesty of their Government prostituted and ruined: It troubled them to see Ordinances abolished, their Laws abrogated, honest conversation corrupted, and civil modesty despised; for they who had never been accustomed to any Regal pomp whatsoever could not without sorrow behold the Duke environed with his Guards both on foot and on horseback. But their destruction being in his hands, they were necessitated to dissemble, and to court and honour him outwardly whom they hated at their hearts; another inducement was the fear they had conceived upon the frequent executions, and continual taxes with which he impoverished and exhausted the City; and the Duke understood very well both their fear and their anger. It happened that Matteo di Morrozzo, to ingratiate with the Duke, or to disintangle himself, had discovered to him a certain Plot which the house of Medici and some others had contrived against him. The Duke was so far from inquiring into the matter, that he caused the informer to be put to death; by which act he discouraged such as would otherwise have advertised him, upon occasion, and animated those who were disposed to destroy him. He likewise caused the tongue of Betoni Cini to be pulled out with such cruelty that he died of it, and for no

other cause but that he had spoke against the taxes which he imposed upon the City.

This last outrage compleated the rest; the People grew perfectly mad, and the Duke perfectly odious: for that City, which was accustomed heretofore to speak of everything freely, and to do what they listed, could not possibly brook to have their hands tyed and their mouths stopped up by a stranger. Their fury and passion increasing at this rate, not only the Florentines (who neither know how to maintain liberty nor endure slavery) were incensed, but the most servile Nation in the World would have been inflam'd to have attempted the recovery of its freedom. Whereupon many Citizens of all qualities and degrees resolved to destroy him; and it fell out, that at the same time three Conspiracies were on foot by three sorts of People, the Grandees, the People, and Artificers. Besides the General oppression, each party had its peculiar reason. The Nobility were not restored to the Government, the People had lost it, and the Artificers' trade was decayed. The Archbishop of Florence, Agnolo Acciaivoli, had in his Sermons highly magnified the qualities of the Duke, and procured him great favour among the People; but after he was Governor, and his tyranny became notorious, they found how the Archbishop had deluded them. To make them amends for the fault he had committed, he thought nothing could be more reasonable than that the same hand that gave them the wound should endeavour to cure it, and therefore he made himself Head of the first and most considerable Conspiracy, in which were ingaged with him the Bardi, Rossi, Frescobaldi, Scali, Altoviti, Magalotti, Strozzi, and Mancini. The Principals of the second Conspiracy were Manno and Corso Donati, and with them the Pazzi, Cavicciulli, Cerchi, and Albizzi. Of the third Antonio Adimari was the Head, and with him the Medici, Bordini, Ruccellai, and Aldobrandini. Their design was to have killed him in the house of the Albizzi, whither it was supposed he would go on Midsummer-day to see the running of the Horses; but he went not that day, and that design was lost. The next proposition was, to kill him as he was walking in the streets; but that was found to be difficult, because he went always well armed and well attended, and his motions being various and uncertain, they could not tell where it was most proper to waylay him. Then it

was debated to slay him in the Council; but that also was not without danger, because though they should kill him, they must of necessity remain at the mercy of his Guards.

Whilst these things were in debate among the Conspirators, Antonio Adimari, in hopes of assistance from them, discovered the Plot to some of his Friends in Siena, told them the Principal of the Conspirators, and assured them the whole City were disposed to redeem themselves; whereupon one of the Sienesi communicated the whole business to Francesco Brunelleschi (not with intention to have betrayed it, but in presumption he had been privy to it before), and Francesco, out of fear, or malice to some that were engaged in it, discovered all to the Duke. Pagolo de Mazzeccha and Simon de Monterapoli being immediately apprehended, they confessed the whole matter, with the number and quality of the Conspirators; at which the Duke was much surprized; and counsel being given him, rather to summon the Conspirators to appear than to secure them abruptly (because if they fled of themselves, he would be as safe without scandal), he summoned Adimari, who appeared in confidence of the number of his Accomplices. Adimari was arrested, and the Duke advised by Francesco Brunelleschi and Uguccione Buondelmonti to betake himself to his arms, and go up and down to their houses, and kill all of them they met. But his force in the Town was judged too small for that resolution, and therefore he pitched upon another, which (had it succeeded) would have secured him against his Enemies and provided him with Men. The Duke was wont upon any great Emergencies to call the chief Citizens together, and to advise with them. Having first sent to prepare what force he was able, he caused a list of three hundred Citizens to be made and delivered to his Sergeants, to summon them to Council by their Names, resolving when they were met to kill or imprison them as he pleased. Antonio Adimari being secured, and so many great Citizens summoned (which could not be done without noise), many of them (and especially those who were conscious) began to suspect, and some refused absolutely to obey. The List having been brought to them all, and perused by every one of them, they began to understand, and encourage one another to take Arms, and dye manfully like men, rather than be driven quietly like sheep to the slaughter: so that in few hours all the

Conspiracies were known, and the Conspirators united: holding Counsel among themselves, it was concluded that the next day being the 26th of July 1343, a tumult should be raised in the old Market-place, upon which all were to take Arms, and excite the people to liberty. The next day, the Signal being given by sounding a Bell (as it was agreed before), everybody took Arms, and crying out Liberty, Liberty, the People betook themselves to their Arms likewise, and fell to fortify in their several Quarters, under their respective Ensigns, which was done by the contrivance of the Conspirators. The Chief of all Families, both Nobility and People, met, and took an Oath to live and die with one another in the destruction of the Duke (except only the Buondelmonti, the Cavalcanti, and the four Families of the People, which consented to make him Prince, who, with the Butchers and Rascality of the City, ran down armed to the Piazza in defence of the Duke). The Duke, alarmed at these proceedings, fortified his Palace, called home his Servants, which were lodged in several parts of the Town, and sallying forth with them on Horseback towards the Market-place, they were many times assaulted by the way, and many of them slain being forced back; and recruited with 300 fresh Horse, he was in doubt with himself whether he had best fall upon them again, or stand upon his guard; and in the meantime the Medici, Cavicciulli, Ruccellai, and other families that were most disobliged by the Duke, were in no less fear, that if he should make a sally, many who had taken Arms against him in the uproar would show themselves his friends; desirous therefore to keep him from sallying, and by that means increasing his numbers, drawing what force together they were able, they advanced towards the Market-place, where some of their fellow-Citizens had posted themselves in defence of the Duke. The Citizens which were there in the front, and had appeared first for their Prince, seeing themselves so briskly confronted, changed their sides, left their Duke in the lurch, and joyned with their fellow-Citizens, all but Uguccione Buondelmonti, who retired into the Palace, and Giannozzo Cavalcanti, who retreating with some of his party into the New-Market, and getting upon a bench, made an earnest Speech, exhorting the people to stand firm to the Duke; and having got more force to him, to fright them (if his persuasion failed) he threatened to kill them all, Man, Woman,

and Child, if they joined or persisted in any design against him. But seeing nobody follow him, nor nobody near to chastise him for his insolence, perceiving he had troubled himself hitherto in vain, he resolved to tempt his fortune no farther, and so retired peaceable to his house.

The conflict, in the meantime, in the Market-place, betwixt the People and the Duke's party was great, and though the Duke's Creatures were reinforced from the Palace, yet they were beaten, part taken Prisoners, and part leaving their Horses to their Enemies, got on foot into the Palace. Whilst the contest continued in the Market-place, Corso and Amerigo Donati, with part of the People, broke up the Stinche, burned the Records of the Podesta and publick Chamber, sacked the Houses of the Rettori, and killed all the Duke's Officers they could meet with. The Duke, on the other side, finding he had lost the Piazza, the whole City was become his Enemy, and no hopes left him of being relieved, he resolved to try if by any act of kindness or humanity he might work upon the People. Calling his Prisoners (therefore) to him, with fair and gentle language he gave them their liberty, and made Antonio Adimari a Knight (though not at all to his satisfaction), he caused his Ensign to be taken down, and the Standard of the People to be set up upon the Palace. Which things being done unseasonably and by force, they availed but little. In this manner he remained blocked up in his Palace, not at all delighted with his condition; having coveted too much formerly, he was now like to lose all, and in a few days was in danger of being famished or slain.

The Citizens, to give some form to their Government, assembled themselves in the S. Reparata, and created fourteen Citizens (half of the Nobility and half of the People) who with their Bishop should have full power to model and reform the State as they pleased. The Authority of the Podesta they committed to six Persons of their own election, which they were to exercise till he that was elected should come. There were at that time many strangers resorted to Florence, in assistance to that City; among the rest the Siennesi had sent six Embassadors (of honourable condition in their own Country) to negotiate a Peace betwixt the Duke and the People. The People refused any overture, unless Guglielmo da Cesi, his Son, and Cerrettieri Bisdomini were delivered into their

hands, which the Duke obstinately denied, till the threats of those who were shut up with him in the Palace constrained him to consent. Greater, doubtless, is the insolence and contumacy of the People, and more pernicious the mischiefs which they do, whilst they are in pursuit of their Liberty, than when they have acquired it. Guglielmo and his Son were brought forth, and delivered up among thousands of their Enemies: his Son was a young Gentleman, not yet arrived at eighteen years of age; yet neither his youth, his comeliness, nor innocence were able to preserve him; those who could not get near enough to do it whilst he was alive, wounded him when he was dead; and as if their swords had been partial, and executed the dictates of their fury with too much moderation, they fell to it with their teeth and their hands, biting his flesh and tearing it to pieces. And that all their Senses might participate in their revenge, having feasted their ears upon their groans, their eyes upon their wounds, and their touch upon their bowels (which they rent out of their bodies with their hands), their taste must (likewise) be treated and regaled, that their inward parts, as well as their outward, might have a share of the Ragoust. This barbarous outrage, how fatal soever it was to them two, was very lucky to Cerrettieri, for the People being tired in the formalities of their execution, forgot they had any more to punish, and left him in the Palace, not so much as demanded, from whence the next night he was safely conveyed by his Relations and Friends. The People having satiated themselves upon the Blood of those two, the Peace was concluded; the Duke to depart safely himself, and all that belonged to him, for which he was to renounce all his Claim and Authority in Florence, and to ratify his Renunciation when he came out of the Florentine Dominions to Casentino. The Articles being agreed, on the 6th of August, attended by a multitude of Citizens, the Duke departed from Florence, and arrived at Casentino, where he ratifyed the Renunciation, but so unwillingly, that had not Conte Simone threatned to carry him back to Florence, it had never been done.

This Duke (as his actions demonstrate) was covetous, cruel, difficult of access, and insolent in his answers. Not being so much affected with the kindness and benevolence of People as with their servitude and servility, he chose to be feared rather than beloved. Nor was the shape and contexture of his Body less con-

temptible than his manners were odious. He was very little, exceeding black, his beard long and thin, not a part about him but concurred to make him despicable. In this manner the exhorbitancies of his Administration in ten Months' time deprived him of his Dominion, which had been placed upon him by the Counsels of ill Men. These accidents happening thus in the City, all the Towns under the jurisdiction of Florence took courage, and began to stand up for their liberty; so that in a short time Arrezzo, Castiglione, Pistoia, Volterra, Colle St. Gimignano, rebelled, and the whole Territory of Florence (after the example of its Metropolis) recovered its freedom. After the Duke and his Creatures were removed, the fourteen chief Citizens and the Bishop, consulting together, thought it better to pacify the People with Peace than to provoke them again by War, and therefore pretended to be as well pleased with their liberty as their own. They sent Embassadors therefore to Arrezzo, to renounce the Authority they had over them, and to enter into an alliance of amity with them, that though they might not hereafter command them as Subjects, they might (upon occasion) make use of them as Friends. With the rest of the Cities, they made as good terms as they could, retaining amity with them all. This resolution being prudently taken, succeeded very happily; for in a few months Arrezzo, and all the other Towns, returned to their Obedience; and it is frequently seen, to decline or renounce things voluntary is the way to gain them more readily, and with less danger and expence, than to pursue them with all the passion and impetuosity in the world. Affairs abroad being composed in this manner, they applied themselves to a settlement at home, and after some debates and alterations betwixt the Nobility and the People, it was concluded the third part of the Signoria or Senate should consist of the Nobility, and half the other Magistracies to be executed by them. The City (as is said before) was divided into six parts, out of which sixth six Signori were chosen (one out of every sixth), only by accident now and then their number was increased to twelve or thirteen, and reduced it again to six afterwards; at length they resolved to reform in that particular, either because the Sesti or sixths were ill distributed, or else (designing more Authority to the Nobility) they thought it convenient to increase the number of the Senators. Hereupon they divided the City into Quarters, and

in every Quarter three Signori were created to superinspect it. The Gonfaloniere della Justitia and Gonfalonieri of the Popular Companies were laid aside, and instead of them they created twelve Buon-Uomini and eight Consiglieri, four of each sort.

The Common-wealth being settled in this method, might have continued quiet and happy, had the Grandees been contented to have framed it themselves to such modesty of Conversation as is requisite in a Civil Government. But their practices were quite contrary; when they were but private Persons, nobody was good enough to be their Companions; and being in Office, scarce any too good to be their Subjects, every day producing new instances of their Arrogance and Pride, insomuch that the People were exceedingly troubled, to consider with what impatience and fury they had removed one Tyrant to make room for a thousand. In this manner things stood at that time, the insolence of one side, and the indignation of the other, fermenting to that degree, that the Chief of the People (complaining of the Enormity of their Great ones, and their haughtiness to the People and to the Bishop) desired that he would be an instrument to restrain the Grandees to their share in the other Offices, and effect that the Senate might consist only of the People. The Bishop was naturally a good Man, but easie and unconstant; from that unconstancy of temper it was that his Associates first wrought upon him to favour the Duke of Athens, and afterwards persuaded him against him: in the late Reformation he appeared highly for the Nobility, now upon the instance and sollicitation of the Popular Citizens, he was as earnest for the People; and supposing to have found the same irresolution in other People as was eminent in himself, he fancyed himself able to prevail with the Nobility to consent. Hereupon convoking the Fourteen (who were as yet in possession of their Authority), with the best language he could use, he exhorted them to resign the dignity of the Senate to the People, if they bare any respect to the tranquillity of the City, or their own safety and preservation. But these Words wrought a contrary effect in the minds of the Nobility; Ridolpho de' Bardi reprehending him very smartly, upbraided the Levity and Treachery of his behaviour with the Duke, and concluded at last, that the Honours and Employments they were in they had acquired with hazard, and would defend them with the same; and in this squabble he and his

Brethren left the Bishop, and went to the rest of the Nobility to communicate with them. The People were made acquainted with their answer on the other side, and whilst the Grandees were providing what strength they could for the defence of their Senators, the Commons thought it no time to attend for Orders, but ran immediately to their Arms, and with them to the Palace, calling out to the Nobility to renounce. The noise and tumult were great; the Signori found themselves forsaken; for the Grandees finding the People universally in Arms, durst not appear, but kept themselves close at home as obscurely as they could: whereupon the Popular Senators, endeavouring to pacifie the People, alledged that they were honest and good Men, and prevailed (though with great difficulty) that they might be sent safe to their houses.

The Senators of the Nobility being dismissed, the Office was taken away from the four Grand Counsellors, and transferred upon twelve of the People and the eight Popular Senators which remained. They restored the Gonfaloniere della Justitia, and sixteen Gonfalonieri of the Companies of the People, and reformed all Counsels in such manner that the Government remained entirely in the People. When those exhorbitances happened, there was a great scarcity in the City, which occasioned the discontents both of Nobility and People (the People for want of Victuals, the Nobility for want of Command), and gave encouragement to Andrea Strozzi to usurp upon their liberty. Andrea selling his Corn at a cheaper rate than his Neighbours, had great resort of poor People to his House, which he observing, mounted on Horseback one morning, with several of the Rabble at his heels, he cryed out to the rest to take Arms, and in a few hours he got together more than 4000 Men, with whom he marched to the Palace of the Senate, and demanded to have it opened: but the Senators, partly by threatning and partly by force, disengaged themselves of them, and afterward, when they were gone, frighted them so with their Proclamations, that by little and little they dissolved, and went every Man to his Home, and left Andrea alone to escape as he could. Though this accident was rash, and had the common end of such desperate attempts, yet it gave no little hopes to the Nobility of prevailing against the People, seeing the Refuse and Rascality of the City had an animosity against them. That they might not slip so fair an occasion, it was re-

solved that they should fortify themselves with their Assistance (if they could gain it) and recover by force what by injustice was taken from them. And so bold they grew in their confidence of Victory, that they began to provide Arms publickly to fortify their Houses, and send to their Friends in Lombardy for Help and Supplies. The People and their Senators were as busie on the other side; they provided themselves with what Arms they could get, and sent to the Sanesi and Perugini for Relief. The Auxiliaries on both sides being arrived, the whole City was immediately in Arms. The Nobility had posted themselves in three places on this side the River Arno, at the Palace of the Cavicciulli near S. John's; at the Palaces of the Pazzi and Donati, near S. Piero Maggiore; and the Palace of the Cavalcanti in the new Market: those of the Nobility who were on the other side of the River had fortified the Bridges and Streets which were in the way to their Houses. The Nerli possessed themselves of the Ponte alla Carraia; the Frescobaldi and Manelli of S. Trinita; the Rossi and Barde were upon their guard at the old Bridge and the Rubaconte. The People in the meantime formed themselves into a posture under the Gonfalone della Giustitia and the Ensigns of the People, and being drawn up in array, it was thought best immediately to fall on: the first that marched were the Medici and Rondinelli, who assaulted the Cavicciulli on that side which is towards the Piazza de S. Giovanni. The Service was very hot (great Stones being tumbled upon them from above, and vollies of Arrows sent liberally among them from below), and continued three hours compleat; but the numbers of the People increasing, and no relief like to get near them, the Cavicciulli submitted to their multitudes and surrendred. The People saved the House and the Furniture, only they took away their Arms, and commanded them to distribute and disperse themselves into such popular houses as were their acquaintance and friends. The Cavicciulli being beaten from their Post, the Pazzi and Donati (being less powerful) were sooner removed. The Cavalcanti were only remaining on that side of the River, yet more considerable than the other, both in respect of their numbers and situation. But they seeing all the Gonfalonieri advancing against them, whereas three of them only had overpowered the rest, surrendred like their Neighbours without any remarkable defence:

and now three parts of the City were in the hands of the People, there was but one left in the power of the Nobility, but more difficult and inaccessible, by reason it was so secure by the River Arno, the Bridges and Avenues were of necessity to be cleared before any good could be done, and they (as is said before) were abundantly provided. The first of them that was assaulted was the old Bridge, which was as bravely defended, and the People repulsed. Finding their further Attempts there would be but in vain, they tryed what could be done at the Ponte Rubaconte; but finding their entertainment no better, they left four Gonfaloni and some other Ensigns to block up those Passes, and marched with the rest to the Ponte alla Carraia. The Nerli had the defence of that Quarter, and behaved themselves valiantly, yet their Bridge (as having no Towers) being weaker or else overlaid with the numbers of the Enemies (which were much increased by the accession of the Capponi and other Families about them), they were on every side oppressed, forced from their Barricadoes, and constrained to retire. When they were defeated they advanced against the Rossi, and from them against the Frescobaldi, overwhelming them both, the whole Populace beyond the River being come in to their assistance. The Bardi was the only party remaining, but that so obstinately courageous, neither the fortune of their Comrades, the unanimity of the People against them, nor the impossibility of relief could prevail with them to surrender, but they would rather die fighting or see their Houses pillaged or burned, than submitted themselves quietly into the Hands of their Enemies: And they defended themselves; for though many times they were assaulted, both at the old Bridge and the Ponte Rubaconte, the People were alway repulsed, and with considerable loss. There was in old time a Lane to pass from the Via Romana, betwixt the Palaces of the Pitti to the Wall upon S. George's Hill: To this Lane the People sent six Gonfalonieri, with Orders to fall upon the Bardi behind, who pursued them so effectually, the Bardi were disheartened, and the people prevailed; those of the Bardi who were appointed for the keeping of the Barricadoes, no sooner hearing that their houses were attacked, but they quitted their Posts and ran in, in hopes to defend them. By this means the Barricadoes at the old Bridge were won, and the Bardi discomfited, who (as many as could) betook themselves

to their heels, and were received by the Quaratesi, Panzansi, and Mozzi. The People (especially the baser sort), greedy of Prey, plundered their Houses, demolished their Castles, and when they had done, burned them all with such inhumanity as the greatest Enemy the City had would have been ashamed to have committed. The Nobility being utterly subdued, the People took upon them the Government of the State; and because it consisted of three sorts (the more potent, the middle sort, and the base), it was ordained that the more potent should have the nomination of two Senators, the middle sort of three, and the meaner of three. The Gonfalonieri to be chosen (*alternatim*) of the one and the other. Besides this, all the Old Laws against the Nobility were revived and put in force, and to weaken them the more, many of them were mingled with the Common People. The destruction of the Nobility was so great at this time, and their party so irrecoverably debilitated, that not daring to take Arms again against the People, they became pusillanimous and abject, which was the occasion that Florence lost not only its Gentry but its Generosity also. From this depression of the Grandees, the City continued quiet to the year 1353, in which interval happened the Famous Pestilence (so eloquently celebrated by Giovanni Boccacio) in which there died in Florence above 96,000 People. The first War the Florentines made was against the Visconti, being provoked by the Ambition of the Archbishop, who at that time was Prince of Milan; which War was no sooner finished but new Factions began in the City; for though the Nobility was so cowed and intimidated, there was no danger of them; yet Fortune had her ways to create them new troubles by new and different dissentions.

BOOK III.

THE great and natural Animosities betwixt the People and the Nobility, arising from an ambition in the one to command, and an aversion in the other to obey, are the springs and fountains of all the Calamities incident to a City: and indeed there is scarce anything dangerous or troublesome to a Commonwealth but takes its original and nourishment from their diversity of Humour. This was it which kept Rome divided. This was it (if it be lawful to compare great Things with little) which kept Florence divided, though in each City with different effects. For, in Rome, the Enmity betwixt the People and the Nobility was determined by Expostulation and Reason; in Florence, by the Sword. In Rome, those Things were settled and composed by Law which in Florence were scarce done by the slaughter and banishment of many of their best Citizens. Rome increased still in its Military Vertue; but that in Florence was utterly exhaust. From a primitive equality of its Citizens, Rome was brought to an immense equality: whereas Florence, on the contrary, from a vast inequality, was reduced to a strange equality. Which diversity of effects must have certainly proceeded from diversity in their designs. The People of Rome desired no more than to share and communicate with the Nobility in the great Offices of the City. The People of Florence not only desired, but fought and contended to have the Government to themselves, with perfect exclusion to the Nobility: and the desires of the Romans being more reasonable, their importunity was the more supportable by the Nobles, so that they condescended without coming to blows; and after some small controversie and dispute, it was concluded a Law should be made, by which the People should be satisfied, and their Dignities preserved to the Nobility. On the other side, the demands of the People of Florence were

extravagant and unjust; upon which score the Nobility preparing for the defence, their differences determined in banishment and blood: and the Laws which ensued were framed more to the advantage of the Victor than the benefit of the Publick. Hence it proceeded, that the success of the People in Rome rendred that City more potent and considerable; for the People being admitted to the administration of the Magistracy, Armies, and Empire, equally with the Nobles, they became inspired with the same Vertue and Magnanimity as they: and as their Vertue increased, their Power increased with it.

But in Florence the People prevailing, divested the Nobility of their Authority; and if they had a mind to recover it, it was necessary by their conversation and behaviour not only to be, but to profess themselves like the People. And this was the cause of the changing their Arms, the variation of their Titles and Families, which was frequent in those times among the Nobility, to recommend them to the Commons and make them pass amongst them: so that the Eminency of their Arms and the Generosity of their minds (for both which the Nobility was formerly famous) was spent and expired, and not to be revived in the people, where the least spark of it was not to be found; which rendered Florence every day more abject and base. And whereas Rome, transported with its own Vertue, grew to that height of Pride that it could not subsist longer without a Prince, Florence was reduced to that pass, that a wise Legislator might have formed the Government according to what scheme and model he pleased. All which, by perusing of the preceding Books, will be obvious to anybody. Having shewn therefore the Foundation of Florence, the Original of its Liberty, the Occasion of its Dissention, and how the Factions of the Nobility and People concluded with the Tyranny of the Duke of Athens and the destruction of the Nobility: it remains now, I should discourse of the Emulations betwixt the people and the multitude, and several accidents which they produced.

The power of the Nobility being depressed, and the War with the Arch-Bishop of Milan at an end, there appeared no respect of future contention in Florence: But the ill fate of our City, the ill conduct of their Affairs, suffered a new Emulation to spring up (betwixt the Families of the Albizi and Ricci), which produced as

great division in the Town as was at first betwixt the Buondelmonti and the Uberti, and afterwards betwixt the Cerchi and Donati. The Popes (who had then their residence in France) and the Emperors who resided in Germany, to make good their reputation in Italy, had many times, upon several occasions, supplied us with multitude of Soldiers of all Nations, English, Dutch, and Britains. The Wars ended, and they out of pay, being Soldiers of Fortune, they were constrained to make bold sometimes with one Prince, and sometimes with another, and force them to contribution. In the year 1353, it happened one of the Companies came into Tuscany (under the Command of Monsieur Real of Provence) and put the whole Country into a fear: whereupon the Florentines not only made publick provision of men, but several private Citizens (and the Albizi and Ricci among the rest) furnished themselves with Arms for their proper defence. There was a mortal hatred betwixt those two Families, each of them aspiring at the Government, and conspiring the destruction of the other. However, as yet they were not come to Hostility; only they clashed, and interfered in their Counsels and in the executions of the Magistracy. But upon this occasion, the City being armed, there happened a quarrel, by accident, in the old Market-place; to which the People, that were near, flocked, as they do on all such occasions. To the Ricci it was reported the Albizi had fallen upon some of their Family; to the Albizi, that the Ricci were come out in defiance of them. Hereupon the whole City got together; and no small difficulty it was to the Magistrate to restrain either of their Families, or to put an end to a Conflict which was begun by chance, without the fault or contrivance of either. This accident, though meerly contingent, revived their animosity, and put them both upon designs of increasing their Parties. And because, by the ruine of the Nobility, the Citizens were reduced to such an equality, that the Magistrates were become more venerable than formerly, they resolved both of them to advance their interest rather by ordinary means than private violence. We have declared before, how, after the Victory of Charles the First, the Guelfs were created Magistrates, and great authority given them over the Ghibilin faction: which authority and pre-eminence, time, accident, and their new divisions had so far enervated, that the Ghibilins were grown into the Government,

and exercised the principal Offices as well as the Guelfs. Uguccione de Ricci being at that time the Head of that Family, prevailed to have the Laws against the Ghibilins renewed: to which Faction, it was supposed by many, the Albizi were inclined; whose Original being anciently from Arezzo, they transplanted from thence, and settled in Florence: so that Uguccione designed by the renovation of those Laws, to render that Family incapable of any great Office; providing thereby, that it should be criminal for any person descended from the Ghibilins, to exercise the Magistracy. This practice of Uguccione was discovered to Piero, Son of Philippo degli Albizi, who resolved to connive at it; presuming he should declare himself a Ghibilin, if he opposed it. These Laws, though renewed by the prevalence and ambition of the Ricci, subtracted nothing from the reputation of the Albizi, but were the foundation of many mischiefs. Nor indeed can a Republick make any Law so pernicious as a Law of Retrospection. Piero having rather promoted than resisted those Laws, that which his enemies intended as an impediment, proved a means and occasion of his preferment: for, being made the chief person to super-inspect the execution of those Laws, he exercised more authority than before, and became the only favourite of the Faction of the Guelfs. And, because in these Laws there was no definition of a Ghibilin, nor no Magistrate deputed to discover them, they were of little importance; only the Captains were appointed to inquire them out, and to admonish them, that they were not to take the Magistracy upon them; if they did, they should be liable to a penalty. Whereupon, those who were afterwards incapacitated for the Magistracy were called Ammoniti. But, at length, the Captains growing bold and audacious in their office, without any regard whether they were conscious or not, they admonished whom they pleased, as their avarice or animosity directed them.

So that from the year 1357, in which this Law was renewed, to the year 1366, there were more than 200 Citizens admonished. By which means the Captains and the Faction of the Guelfs were grown great and considerable; especially Piero degli Albizi, Lapo da Castiglionocchio, and Carlo Strozzi, for the fear of being admonished, made all people respect them. And, though the insolence of their proceedings disgusted many more, yet none

looked upon it with so much indignation as the Family of the Ricci, who had been the occasion of that disorder, which was not only like to be the ruine of the Commonwealth, but the promotion and advancement of their Enemies, quite contrary to what they designed. Uguccione therefore, being one of the Senate, to put an end to those inconveniences which he by accident had created), obtained a new Law; that to the six Captains three more should be added, two of them to be chosen out of the inferior Mechanicks: and prevailed that the Ghibilins should not be convicted but by twenty-four of the Guelfs, deputed particularly to that office. For the time, these Laws in some measure tempered the exorbitance of the Captains, so as their admonitions lost much of their terror; and if any, they were but few that were admonished. Notwithstanding, the emulation betwixt the Albizi and Ricci continued; their leagues, practices, and consultations going on with more eagerness, as their fury suggested. In this distraction the City continued from the year 1366 to the year 1371, at which time the Guelfs recovered their power.

In the Family of the Buondelmonti there was a Gentleman called Benchi; who for his Gallantry in the Wars against the Pisans, was preferred to be one of the people, and by that means qualified to be a Senator. But when he expected to be admitted into the Senate, a Decree was made, that no person of Noble Extraction, that was become one of the people, should be received into the Senate. This Decree was highly offensive to Benchi, who, upon consultation with Piero degli Albizi, resolved with his admonitions to depress the meaner sort of the people, and make themselves Governours of the City. And indeed, by his influence upon the Nobility, and Piero's upon the wealthiest of the Citizens, the Faction of the Guelfs began to grow more considerable; for with their new models and regulations they ordered things so, that the Captains and twenty-four Citizens were wholly at their disposing, their admonitions exercised with as much audacity as formerly, and the house of the Albizi (being head of that Faction) increased exceedingly. The Ricci in the meantime were not behind-hand in using all their interest and friends to obstruct their designs; so that every one lived in great apprehension, as fore-seeing their destruction was approaching. Whereupon many Citizens, out of affection to their Country, assembled in S. Piero

Scheraggio; and having discoursed of their disorders among themselves, they went afterwards to the Senate, to whom one of the most eminent among them made this harrangue:—

MOST MAGNIFICENT LORDS,—We have many of us doubted whether to assemble by private order (though upon publick occasion) might not be offensive, and render us remarkable for our presumption, and punishable for our ambition. But when we considered that daily, without the least caution or regard, many Citizens do meet and conferr, not for any benefit to the Commonwealth, but in pursuit of their own private designs: We presumed, that if they were permitted to meet, and conspire against the peace of their Country, without displeasure to your Lordships, those whose design was nothing but its preservation and prosperity, needed not to fear your reproof. If therefore we have not incurred your Lordships' disfavour, we are not much sollicitous what others judge of us, because we find they are as indifferent what we think of them. The love we bear to our Country, most Magnificent Lords, was that which assembled us at first, and now presents us before you, to remonstrate our distractions (which, though too great, encrease daily upon our hands), and to offer our utmost assistance to remove them. How difficult soever their Enterprise may appear, we cannot despair of success; if laying aside private respects, you would be pleased with publick force to exert your authority. The corruption of their Cities in Italy has vitiated ours: for since Italy freed itself from the yoke of the Empire, all the Towns (wanting their former restraint) flew out into extreams, and ordained Laws and Governours, not as free men, but as people divided into Factions. From this Fountain all our miseries, all our disorders do spring. In the first place, no friendship nor integrity is to be found among the Citizens, unless among those whose wickedness makes them faithful, having been formerly engaged together in some villainous action, either against their Neighbour or Country. Religion, and the fear of God, is utterly extinguished. Promises and Oaths are binding no farther than they are profitable; and used not for a tye, but a snare, and as a means to facilitate their cheats, which are always more honourable, by how much their success is less difficult and dangerous. Hence it is that vitious and mischievous men are commended for their industry, and good men, which are innocent and quiet, are reckoned for sots. And certainly, as there is no sort of corruption but may be found in Italy, so there

are no sort of people more unhappily adapted to receive it. The young men are idle; the old men lascivious; all sexes, all ages, all places full of licentious brutality, above the correction of the Laws. Hence springs that avarice among the Citizens, and that ambition, not of true glory, but of dishonourable preferment; which, being accompanied with hatred, enmity, schism, and dissention, are commonly followed by executions, banishments, affliction of good men, and exaltation of evil: for good men depending upon their innocence, and not looking abroad for anything extraordinary, either to advance or defend themselves, do too often miscarry without either, and become the sad objects of the cruelty of Usurpers. This creates inclination to parties, and increases their power; ill people siding for covetousness, ambition, revenge, or some other sinister end; and good people for fear: and that which renders our condition more deplorable, is, to behold the Contrivers and Ringleaders of all (as if a word could make them innocent, and consecrate the iniquity of their actions) gilding, or rather decking over their ill designs with some illustrious Title: for, being all enemies to Liberty, let them pretend as they please, either to defend an Optimacy or Populacy, the result must be destruction: for the fruit they expect from their Victory, is not the honour of having delivered their Country, but the satisfaction of having mastered their Enemies, and usurped the dominion to themselves: and being arrived at that height, what is there so unjust, what is there so cruel, what is there so ravenous as they? Henceforward Laws are made, not for publick benefit, but their private advantage; henceforward War, and Peace, and Amity is concluded, not for common honour, but particular humour. And if the other Cities of Italy are repleat with these disorders, ours is much more: Our Laws, our Statutes, and Civil Ordinances are made according to the ambition and capricio of the Conqueror, and not according to the true interest of People that would be free: whence it follows, that one Faction is no sooner extinguished but another succeeds: for that City which would maintain itself by Faction rather than by Law can never be quiet: when one party prevails, and depresses its rival beyond the power of opposition, it sub-divides of necessity, and falls out with itself; and then all goes to wrack, the people not being able to defend themselves with those private Laws which were made at first for their preservation. That these things are true the ancient and modern dissentions in our own City can sadly demonstrate.

When the Ghibilins were destroyed, it was every man's judgment the Guelfs would have lived honourably and quietly a long time after: and yet it was not long before they divided into the Factions of the Neri and Bianchi. When the Bianchi were over-powered, new parties arose, and new troubles attended them; sometimes fighting in behalf of the Exiles, and sometimes quarreling betwixt the Nobility and the People: and (to give that to others which either we could not or would not possess quietly ourselves) committing our Liberty sometimes to King Robert, sometimes to his Brother, and at last to the Duke of Athens; never fixing or reposing in any Government; as not being agreed to live free, nor contented to be servile. Nay, so much was our State disposed to division, that rather than acquiesce in the administration of a King, it prostituted itself to the regiment of an Agobbian, of mean and ignominious extraction. The late Duke of Athens cannot be mentioned with any honour to this City; yet his insolence and tyranny may make us wiser for the future. Being in Arms at his expulsion, we fell to it among ourselves, and fought with more fury one against another than we had ever done before; till at length the Nobility was overcome, and at the mercy of the People: and it was the general opinion (their insupportable pride and ambition being taken down) there could be no more faction or troubles in Florence: but we have found to our cost, how false and fallacious man's judgment is: The pride and ambition of the Nobility was not extinct, but transmigrated into the People, who, by degrees, grew as impatient for authority as they; and having no other way to attain it but by domestick dissention, they revived the obsolete names of Guelfs and of Ghibilins; which it had been happy for this City never to have known. And, that nothing which is humane may be perpetual and stable, it is the pleasure of the Heavens that in all States or Governments whatsoever, some fatal Families should spring up for their ruine and destruction. Of this our City can afford as many and as lamentable instances as any of her neighbours; as owing its miseries not only to one or two, but several of those Families: as first, the Buondelmonti and Uberti; next, the Donati and the Cerchi; and now, the Ricci and Albizi (a shameful and ridiculous thing). We have not enumerated our divisions, nor deduced our ill customs so high, to upbraid or to discourage you by them, but rather as a memorial of their causes, to shew that they are in our memory as well as yours, and to exhort

you by their example, not to be diffident or timorous in correcting them. For in those days the power of the Nobility was so great, and their alliances so considerable, the Laws and Civil Magistrates were too weak to restrain them: but now the Emperor having no power, the Pope no influence, all Italy, and particularly this City, reduced to such a parity as to be able to govern ourselves, where is the difficulty? What impediment remains why this Common-wealth (in spite of all examples to the contrary) may not only be united, but reformed and improved by new Laws and Constitutions, were your Lordships disposed to create them? To which good work we do most humbly importune you, not out of private passion so much as publick compassion for our Country. Our corruption is great, and 'tis you only can correct the rage and expel the contagion that spreads and luxuriates among us. The disorders of our Ancestors are not imputable to the nature of the men, but to the iniquity of those times; which being now altered, gives this City fair hopes, by the institution of better Laws, to better its fortune; whose malignity is easily to be overcome by a prudent restraint of ambition, a seasonable inhibition of such customs as propagate Faction, and a discreet election and adherence to such things as are compatible with our freedom. And better it is you do it now legally of yourselves, than by deferring it, to divert that office upon the people, and make them do it by force.

The Signori moved then by these arguments (which they had framed to themselves before) and by authority and encouragement afterwards, commissionated fifty-six Citizens to superintend for the safety of the Common-wealth. True it is, many men are more proper to preserve good Laws than to make them; and these Citizens employed themselves more in extirpating the present Factions than providing against new; by which means they succeeded in neither: for not taking away the occasion of the new, and one of the present Factions being more potent than the other, it could not be done without great danger to the Common-wealth. However, they deprived three of the Family of the Albizi, and as many of the Ricci, of all Magistracy (unless of the Guelfish party) for three years; in which number, Piero degli Albizi and Uguccione de' Ricci were two. They prohibited all Citizens for the coming into the Palace, unless the Senate was sitting. They decreed, that in case of battery or unjust interruption in the possession of their Estates, it should be lawful to accuse any man

(though of the Nobility) to the Council, and to make them answer to their Charge. These Laws had greater reflection upon the Ricci than the Albizi; for though they were equally intended, the Ricci suffered most by them: Piero indeed was shut out of the Palace of the Signori, but at the Palace of the Guelfs (where his authority was great) his entrance was free; and though he and his Comrades were forward enough in their admonitions before, they were much forwarder now, and new accidents occurred to make them yet worse.

Gregory XI. was Pope at that time, whose residence being at Avignon, he governed Italy by Legates (as his Predecessors had done before him). These Legates being proud and rapacious, had brought great calamity upon several of the Cities. One of these Legates being at that time in Bologna, took the advantage of a scarcity which was in Florence, and resolved to make himself Lord of Tuscany; to which end he not only omitted to supply the Florentines with provisions, but to deprive them utterly of all other relief as soon as the Spring appeared, and gave opportunity for his motion, he invaded them with a great Army, hoping they would be easily conquered, because they were both famished and disarmed: and possibly his design might have taken, had not his Army been mercenary and corrupt; for the Florentines having no other weapons to defend themselves, betook themselves to their bags, and paid his Army 130,000 Florins to draw off.

To begin a War is in any man's power; but, alas! nobody can end one. This War was commenced by the ambition of the Legate, but prosecuted by the indignation of the Florentines; who entred into an immediate League with Monsieur Barnabo and all the Cities which were at enmity with the Church. To manage it, they created eight Citizens, whom they invested with absolute authority of proceeding without appeal and disbursing without account. This War against the Pope, though Uguccione was dead, revived those who had followed the fortunes of the Ricci, who in opposition to the Albizi, had favoured Barnabo and appeared against the Church; and the rather, because the Eight were all enemies to the Guelfs: whereupon Piero de gli Albizi, Lapo da Castiglionochio, Carlo Strozzi, and others united to defend themselves against their adversaries. And while the eight great Citizens were employed in the management of the

War, and they in their admonitions, the War continued three years, till the death of that Pope. However, it was carried on with so universal satisfaction, that the Eight were continued yearly in their Office, and got the Title of Santi; notwithstanding they had sequestred the riches of the Churches, forced the Clergy to the execution of their Functions, and despised the censures of the Pope. So much did the Citizens at that time prefer the advantage of their Country before the quiet of their Consciences: and so earnest were they to make it appear to the Church that, as when they were friends, they had power to defend it, so now being enemies, they were as able to distress it, having put all Romagna, La Marcha and Perugia, into Rebellion. But, though they were able to maintain War, at this rate, against the Pope, they could not so well defend themselves against their Captains and Factions. The indignation and hatred the Guelfs had conceived against the Eight augmented their insolence; and they affronted them as well as the rest of the chief of the Citizens. Nor was the arrogance of the Captains inferior to the insolence of the Guelfs. They had made themselves more formidable than the Signori; and men went with more awe and reverence to their Houses than to the Senators' Palace: insomuch, that not an Embassador was sent to Florence but he received audience from and had particular commission to the Captains. Pope Gregory being dead, this City had no more Wars abroad; yet at home it was in great Confusion: the imperiousness of the Guelfs was grown insupportable, and no way visible to suppress them: it was judged therefore necessary to take Arms, and commit the superiority to the decision of Fortune. On the Guelfs' side there were all the ancient Nobility, and the greatest part of the more powerful Citizens, of whom (as we have said) Lapo, Piero, and Carlo were the chief. On the other side were all the inferior sort of the People headed by the Eight, and assisted by Georgio Scali, Tomaso Strozzi, the Ricci, the Alberti, and the Medici. The rest of the multitude (as it happens always in such cases) joyned with the Discontents. The power of their adversaries seemed very considerable to the Guelfs, and their danger great, if any Senate should prove their enemies and go about to destroy them: desirous to prevent it, they assembled together; where, examining the State and Condition of the City, they found the persons which had been admonished

were so numerous, that they had thereby disobliged most of their Citizens and made them their enemies. They could propose no other remedy, but as they had degraded them of their honours, so to banish them the City, seize upon the Senators' Palace by force, and constrain the whole Town to come over to their side, according to the example of the Guelfs their Predecessors, whose quiet and security was to be attributed wholly to their banishing their adversaries. As to the design, all of them agreed; but they differed about the time.

It was in the year 1377, in the month of May, when Lapo conceiving it unsafe to defer, acquainted them that delays were dangerous, especially to them; considering that in the next Senate Salvestro de' Medici might be chosen Gonfaloniere, who was a known enemy to their Sect. Piero degli Albizi was of another sentiment, and thought it best to protract; in respect that more force would be necessary, which were not to be got together privately; and to raise them publickly was to run themselves into palpable danger. His judgment therefore was, that they should have patience till S. John's day, which was at hand; at which time, in regard it was one of the greatest Festivals, and great resort would come to the City of course, they might convey in what numbers they pleased, without danger of discovery. And to obviate their apprehensions of Salvestro, he proposed to have him admonished; and if that would not do, to put the change upon him, by some fraud or artifice in the imborsation, and foist in some other of the College of his quarter, to defeat him securely of that Office. This last opinion being approved, it was resolved to put off; though Lapo consented unwillingly, urging that delay was uncertain; that no time can, in all circumstances, be convenient; and that he who expects a perfect opportunity, seldom attempts anything; and when he does, it turns commonly to his own disadvantage. However, they proceeded to admonish him, but could not hinder Salvestro. And, for the change, the Eight had got an inkling of that, and took care to prevent it; so that Salvestro was drawn for Gonfaloniere by Alamanno de' Medici. Being of a Noble Popular Family, he could not endure that the People should be oppressed by the power of a few great persons; resolving therefore with himself to put a period to their insolence, seeing he was favoured by the people, and backed by several of

the principal Citizens, he communicated his designs with Benedetto Alberto, Tomaso Strozzi, and Georgio Scali; all of them concurring in the Plot, and engaging their assistance. Upon this they formed a Law privately, whereby the Ordini della Giustitia against the Grandees were revived, the authority of the Capitani di Parte retrenched, and the Ammoniti re-admitted to the Magistracy. And, because it was best to propose and enact it at one time, if it were possible (for it was first to be presented to the Colleges, and afterwards debated in the Councils), Salvestro being in his Office (which, for the time, is, as it were, Prince of the City), he caused a College and Council to be called both together in one morning; and coming in person to the College (which were none of his friends), he proposed the Law to them which he had prepared; but it was rejected as an innovation, and he could not prevail to have it passed. Salvestro, seeing himself defeated in his first practice to obtain it, pretended some necessity to go forth, and, without being perceived, slipped away to the Council; where, having placed himself so as he might be heard and seen by the whole Assembly, he told them as follows:—

That, being made Gonfaloniere, he did not think he had been designed for the Cognizance and Determination of private Causes (which have their peculiar Judges), but to superintend the State, to correct the insolence of the Grandees, and to moderate and rectifie such Laws as were found prejudicial, nay, destructive to the Commonwealth. That in both cases he had been diligent to the utmost, and employed himself with all possible industry: But the perverseness and malevolence of some men was so untractable, and contrary to his good designs, they did not only hinder him from perpetrating anything for the benefit of the Publick, but they denied him their Counsel, and refused for to hear him. Wherefore, finding it was not in his power to be any way beneficial to his Country, he knew not for what reason or with what confidence he should continue in an Office which either he did not really deserve, or of which he was thought unworthy by others. For this cause his intention was to retire and leave the People to the election of another, who might be more vertuous or more fortunate than he.

And having said, he departed from the Council towards his own house. Those of the Council who were privy to the Design, and others, desirous of novelty, raised a tumult thereupon; to which

the Senators and Colleges immediately resorted; and meeting their Gonfaloniere, they prevailed with him, partly with their authority, and partly with their intreaty, to return to the Council, which, by that time, was in great confusion: many of the noble Citizens had been threatened and injuriously treated; and, among the rest, Carlo Strozzi had been taken by the Buttons by an Artificer, and doubtlessly slain, had not the Standers-by interposed, and with some difficulty saved him. But he which made the greatest hubub, and put the City in Arms, was Benedetto degli Alberti, who, from a window of the Palace, cryed out aloud to the People to Arm: Upon which the Piazza was filled with armed men immediately; and the Colleges did that out of fear which they had denied upon request. The Captains of the Parties had in the meantime got together what Citizens they could, to advise what was to be done against this Decree of the Senate: But when they heard of the tumult, and understood what passed in Council, they all of them slunk back to their houses. Let no man that contrives any alteration in a City, delude himself, or believe that he can either stop it when he will, or manage it as he pleases. Salvestro's intention was to have procured that Law and settled the City. But it fell out quite otherwise; for their humours being stirred, every man was distracted: the Shops shut up; the Citizens assaulted in their houses: several removed their goods into the Monasteries and Churches to secure them; all people expecting some mischief at hand. The whole Corporation of the Arts met, and each of them made a Syndic. Hereupon the Priori called their Colleges, and were in Council a whole day together with the Syndics, to find out a way to compose their disorders to the satisfaction of all Parties; but, being of different judgments, nothing was agreed. The next day the Arts came forth with Ensigns displaid; which the Senate understanding, and doubting what would follow, they called a Council to prevent the worst; which was no sooner met but the tumult increased, and the Ensigns of the Arts marched up into the Piazza with Colours flying and store of armed men at their heels. Thereupon, to satisfie the Arts and the multitude, and, if possible, to dispel that cloud of mischief which was impending, the Council gave general power (which in Florence is called Balia) to the Senators, Colleges, the Eight, the Captains of the Parties, and the Syndics of the Arts, to reform the

State as they should think most advantageous for the Publick. Whilst these things were in agitation, some of the Ensigns of the Arts, joyning themselves with some of the Rabble (being stimulated by certain persons, who were desirous to revenge themselves of some late injuries which they had received from the Guelfs), stole away from the rest, went to the Palace of Lapo da Castiglionochio, broke into it, plundered it, and burned it. Lapo, upon intelligence of what the Senate had done, in contradiction to the Orders of the Guelfs, and seeing the people in Arms, having no variety of choice but either to hide or to fly, he absconded first in S. Croce, but afterwards fled away into Casentino, in the disguise of a Frier; where he was often heard to complain of himself, for having consented to Piero degli Albizi, and of Piero for having protracted their attempt upon the Government till S. John's day. Piero and Carlo Strozzi, upon the first noise of the tumult, hid themselves only, presuming (when it was over) they had relations and friends enough to secure their residence in Florence. The Palace of Lapo being burned (mischiefs being more easily propagated than begun), several other Houses ran the same fate, either out of publick malice or private revenge: and that the greediness and rapacity of their Companions might, if possible, out-do theirs, they broke up the Gaols and set the Prisoners at liberty; and, after this, they sacked the Monastery of Agnoli and the Convent di S. Spirito, to which many Citizens had conveyed much of their goods. Nor had the publick Chamber escaped their violence, had not the awe and reverence of one of the Signori defended it; who being on horse-back, with some persons in Arms attending him, opposed himself, in the best manner he could, against the fury of the people; which being appeased in some measure, either by the authority of the Signori or the approach of the night, the next day the Balia indemnified the Ammoniti, with proviso that for three years they should not exercise any Magistracy in that City. They rescinded those Laws which were made in prejudice to the Guelfs. They proclaimed Lapo da Castiglionochio and his Accomplices Rebels: after which new Senators were chosen, and of them, Luigi Guicciardini, was made Gonfaloniere. Being all looked upon as peaceable men and lovers of their Country, great hopes were conceived the tumult would have ceased: notwithstanding, the Shops were not opened; the people

stood to their Arms, and great Guards kept all over the City: so that the Signori entered not upon the Magistracy abroad with the usual pomp, but privately within doors, and without any ceremony at all. These Senators concluded nothing was so necessary nor profitable for the Publick, at the beginning of their Office, as to pacifie the tumult: whereupon, by Proclamation, they required all Arms to be laid down, all Shops to be opened, and all persons who had been called out of the Country, to the assistance of any Citizen, to depart. They disposed Guards in several places of the Town, and ordered things so, that if the Ammoniti could have been contented, the whole City would have been quiet. But they not being satisfied to attend three years before they should be capable of Office, the Arts, in favour to them, got together again, and demanded of the Senate, that, for the future, no Citizen might be admonished as a Ghibilin, by either the Senate, the College, the Captains of the Parties, the Consuls, or Syndics of any Art whatsoever: requiring likewise, that new imborsation might be made of the Guelfs, and the old ones be burned. Their demands were presently accepted, both by the Senate and Councils; supposing thereupon their new tumult would have ceased. But those that are covetous, and impatient for revenge, are not to be satisfied with bare restitution. Such as desired disorder, to enrich and wreck themselves upon their enemies, persuaded the Artificers they could never be safe, unless many of their Adversaries were banished or destroyed. Which practices being remonstrated to the Senate, they caused the Magistrates of the Arts and the Syndics to appear before them, to whom Luigi Guicciardini the Gonfaloniere spake in this manner:—

If these Lords, and myself, had not long since understood the fortune of this City, and observed that its Wars abroad were no sooner determined but it was infested with new troubles at home, we should have more admired, and more resented, the tumults which have happened: But things that are familiar carrying less terror along with them, we have borne the late passages with more patience; especially, considering we were not at all conscious to their beginning, and had reason to hope they would have the same end as former tumults have had upon our condescension to their great and their numerous demands. But finding (to our sorrow) you are so far from composing your thoughts, or acquiescing in what has been granted, that you

are rather exasperated, and conspire new injury against your fellow-Citizens, and endeavour to banish them, we must needs say, the ignobleness of your proceeding provokes us to displeasure. And certainly, had we imagined that in the time of our Magistracy, our City should have been ruined, either in siding with or against you, we should have declined that honour, and freed ourselves from it, either by banishment or flight. But, supposing we had to do with people not utterly destitute of humanity, and void of all affection to their Country, we willingly accept of the preferment, as hoping by the gentleness of our deportment, to be too hard for your ambition and violence. But we see now, by unhappy experience, the mildness of our behaviour and the readiness of our condescensions do but enhance and elate you, and spur you on to more dishonourable demands. We say not this to disgust, but to inform you: let others represent to you what will please; it shall be our way to remonstrate what is profitable. Tell me (upon your words) what is there more that you can justly desire of us? You proposed to have the Captains of the Parties divested of their Authority; it is done. You moved the old Imborsations might be burned, and new ones decreed to supply them; we consented. You had a mind the Ammoniti should be re-admitted to places of honour and trust; we granted it: Upon your intercession, we pardoned those who had burned houses and robbed Churches; and to satisfie you, have sent several of our principal Citizens into Exile. To gratifie you, the Grandees are circumscribed with new Laws, and all things done that might satisfie you: What end therefore will there be of your demands? Or, how long will you abuse the liberty you enjoy? Do you not perceive that we can be overcome with more patience than you can subdue us? What will be the conclusion; or, whither will your dissentions hurry this poor City? Can you have forgot how Castruccio (an inconsiderable Citizen of Lucca), taking advantage of the divisions, possessed himself of it? Do not you still remember that the Duke of Athens, from a private person, became your Lord and your Sovereign; and all from our own differences at home? Whereas, when we were united, the Archbishop of Milan, nor the Pope himself, were able to hurt us, but were glad (after several years' War) to lay down with dishonour. Why then will you suffer your own discords (in time of Peace too) to bring a City into slavery which so many potent Enemies, in time of War, were not able to captivate? What can you expect from your

divisions but servitude? What from the goods you have, or shall hereafter take violently from your neighbours, but poverty? The persons you plunder are they who, by our care and appointment, supply the City with all things; and if it be defeated of them, what can we do to sustain it? What-ever you gain (being unjustly acquired) you can hardly preserve: from whence famine and poverty must necessarily follow. These Lords, therefore, and myself do command, and (if it be consistent with our Dignity) intreat, and beseech you, that you would compose yourselves for this once, and be content with our passed condescensions; or (if they be too little) and there remains still something to be granted, that you would desire it civilly, and not with the force and clamour of a tumult; and if your request be just, you will not only be gratified, but occasion taken away from wicked men to ruine your Country, under your shelter and pretence.

These words being true, had great influence upon the people; insomuch that they returned their thanks to the Gonfaloniere, acknowledged that he had behaved himself like a good Lord to them and a good Citizen to the City, and promised their obedience to whatever he commanded. To break the Ice, the Signori deputed two Citizens for each of the chiefest Offices, to consult with the Syndics of the Arts what, in order to the publick good, was most fit to be reformed, and to report it to the Senate. But, whilst these things were transacting, a new tumult broke out, which put the City into more trouble than the former. The greatest part of the robbery and late mischief was committed by the rabble and rascality of the people; and of them, those who had been most eminently mischievous apprehended, when the greater differences were reconciled, they might be questioned, punished for the crimes they had committed, and (as it always happens) be deserted by those very persons who instigated them at first: to which was added a certain hatred the inferior sort of the people had taken against the richer Citizens, and the Principals of the Arts, upon pretence that they were not rewarded for the service they had done, with proportion to their deserts. For when, as in the time of Charles the First, the City was divided into Arts, every Art had its proper Head and Governour, to whose jurisdiction (in Civil cases) every person in the several Arts were to be subject. These Arts (as we said before) were originally but twelve; afterwards they increased to twenty-one, and grew to that

power and authority, that, in a few years, they ingrossed the whole Government of the City: and because, among them, some were more considerable, and some less, they came, by degrees, to be distinguished, and seven of them were called Maggiori, and fourteen Minori. From this division, and the other reasons aforesaid, proceeded the arrogance of the Captains of the Parties; for those Citizens who had anciently been Guelfs (under whose Government those Offices were always preserved) did ever indulge the chief and better sort of the Arts, and discountenance the more inferior, and all that took their parts: hence it was all the beforementioned troubles and tumults were derived. But because, in the ordinary Companies and Corporations of the Arts, there were many trades (in which the meaner sort of people were employed) of no distinct and peculiar Company, but were incorporated with other Trades, as the quality of their employments made them fit, it fell out, that when they were not satisfied with their work, or any other ways injured by their Masters, they had no person to repair to for redress, but to the Magistrate of that Company of which they were sworn; from whom, they conceived, they had not received that justice which ought to have been done them. Of all Companies of the City, the Company of Clothiers was the greatest, and had most of these sort of people depending upon it; insomuch that, being the first in wealth and authority by the industry of its Members, it maintained (and does still) the greatest part of the multitude. The baser sort of people therefore (both of this Company and the rest) were highly incensed upon the foresaid occasions; and being excited, by fear of correction, for the pillaging and firing of the Palaces, they met many times in the night, to discourse of what was passed, and to admonish one another of the danger they were in; and to animate and unite them, one of the most daring, and most experienced among them, made this Speech:—

Were it now to be considered, whether we were immediately to take Arms, to burn and plunder the houses of our fellow-Citizens, and rob the Churches, I should be one of those who should think it worthy of further debate, and perhaps prefer harmless poverty before hazardous gain. But, since Arms are taken, many mischiefs have been done, and much prize has been got, it is (in my judgment) most natural to advise which way our gains are to be preserved, and how

we may best secure ourselves against the ills we have committed. I am certainly of opinion, if no Man should do you that service, your own necessity would advise you. You see the whole City full of complaints and indignation against us, the Citizens frequent in their meetings, and the Senators perpetually with the Magistrate. Be confident 'tis to design against us, to contrive new ways, and to contract new Forces to destroy us. It remains therefore upon us to do two things; one is, to provide that we be not punished for our passed offences: the other, that we may live with more liberty and satisfaction for the future. To justifie therefore our former misdeeds, in my thoughts, it is convenient to increase them with new; and by the artifice of redoubling our mischiefs, our conflagrations, and robberies, to allure and ingage more companions to our Party. For, where many are guilty, none are punished; though small faults are revenged, great ones are generally rewarded; and where the disease is epidemical, few people complain; an universal calamity being always more supportable than a private. So then, to multiply our misdeeds is the readiest way of obtaining our pardon, and prevailing for those things which we believe conducive to our liberty: nor is there any difficulty to discourage us; it seems to me, the enterprise is not only easie, but certain; because those who should oppose us are divided and rich: their divisions will give us the Victory; and their Riches (when we have got them) shall maintain it. Let not the antiquity of their blood dismay you (though objected so insolently). All men having the same original, are equally ancient; and nature has made no difference in their contexture: strip them naked, you are as well as they: dress them in your rags, and yourselves in their robes, and you will doubtless be the Nobles; for 'tis nothing but poverty and riches that discriminates betwixt you. It troubles me to think that there are many of you unquiet in your consciences for what you have done, and resolved to be guilty of no more: if it be so, I was mistaken in my judgment, and you are not the persons I thought you. Neither conscience nor disgrace ought at all to deterr you; they that overcome (let the means be what they will) are never troubled with the dishonour: and, for conscience, you ought not to be concerned. Where the fear of famine, and death, and prisons are so pregnant, there is no room for apprehensions of Hell. Observe the ways and progress of the World; you will find the rich, the great, and the potent arrive at all that wealth, and

grandeur, and authority by violence or fraud; and when once they are possessed, you will see with what confidence and security they gild over the brutality of their usurpations, with the unjust (but glorious) title of acquests. Observe, on the other side, those whose pusillanimity or sottishness affrights them from those courses, what becomes of them? They are choaked up and consumed in servitude and poverty: honest servants are perpetual servants; good men are always badly provided for; the bold and unscrupulous do soonest free themselves from bondage, and the most fraudulent and rapacious from indigence and distress. God and Nature have laid every man's fortune before him; and we see men more naturally disposed to rapine than industry; to bad actions than good. Hence it is, we devour one another; and he that can do least goes always by the worst. Force, therefore, is to be used, when occasion is given; and what fairer opportunity can be offered by Fortune? The Citizens are divided, the Senate irresolute, the Magistrate frighted; so that before they can unite, and come to any resolution, our work will be done, and we be either absolute Princes of the City, or Masters of such Cantons as will not only pardon us for what is passed, but enable us to awe our enemies for the future. I confess this resolution is dangerous and bold; but where necessity urges, boldness is prudence; and danger in great things was never considered by men of the least courage and gallantry. Those enterprises which begin with danger, do end with reward; and men never free themselves from one peril, but by adventuring a greater. Again, having prisons, and tortures, and death before our eyes (as we have), it cannot but be more hazardous to stand still, than to look out for security: in the first, our destruction is certain; in the other, contingent. How often have I heard you complain of the avarice of your superiors, and the injustice of your Magistrates? Now is your time, not only to free, but to advance yourselves into a capacity of retaliating, and giving them as much occasion of fearing you as you have had of them. Time has wings, opportunity flies away; and when once passed, is never to be reclaimed. You see our enemies are preparing; let us prevent their preparation: whoever begins first is sure to prevail, to the ruine of their enemies, and exaltation of themselves. Go on, therefore, with courage; 'tis an enterprize will yield honour to many of us, but security to us all.

Though their own propensity was too much, this speech pushed the people forward, with more impetuosity, to mischief: so that

after they had drawn together what company they were able, they concluded to take Arms, and obliged themselves, by oath, to relieve one another, when any of them should fall under the correction of the Magistrate. Whilst they were in this manner conspiring against the Government, the Senators had notice of it from one, and having caused one Simone to be apprehended, he confessed the whole plot, and that the next day was intended for a tumult. Whereupon, fore-seeing the danger they were in, they assembled the Colleges, and such Citizens as sided with the Syndics of the Arts, and laboured the preservation of the City. Before they could be got together, it was night; and the Signori were advised to consult with the Consoli dell' Arti, who agreed unanimously that the whole City should Arm, and the Gonfaloniere del Populo draw all the Companies, the next morning, into the Piazza. At the time when the Citizens met, and Simone was upon the Rack, one Nicolada Friano being in the Palace, to do something about the clock, returned with all speed to his house, put the whole neighbourhood into an uproar, and brought above a thousand armed men together into the Piazza di Santo Spirito in a moment. The alarm increasing, came to the rest of the Conspirators, who immediately took Arms; and in a short space, San Piero Maggiore and San Lorenza (as they had appointed before) were full of Armed men. The day being arrived, which was the 21st of July, in favour of the Senate, there were not above eighty men appeared in their Arms, and none of the Gonfaloniere; for they having intelligence the whole City was in Arms, were afraid to stir out of their houses. The first party of the people which advanced to the Piazza, was that which had met at San Piero Maggiore; but the Forces which were drawn there before did not remove. Not long after them appeared the rest of the multitude, who, finding no resistance, with hideous noise demanded their prisoners of the Signori; and not succeeding by threats, to gain them by force, they set fire to the Palace of Luigi Guicciardini, and burned it to the ground: whereupon, for fear of worse mischief, their prisoners were ordered to be delivered. When they had recovered their prisoners, they took the Standard della Giustitia from the Essecutore, burned many houses under it, and persecuted all people that they were angry with, whether upon publick or private account; many Citizens, upon particular

quarrels, conducting the tumult to the houses of their adversaries; it being sufficient to cry out in the multitude, To such an House, to such a Man; or for him that carried the Standard, to direct it to such a place. They burned the Accounts and Books of the Company of the Clothing Trade; and after they had done mischief good store, that they might accompany their exorbitance with some laudable action, they made Salvestro de Medici a Knight, and as many more of their Partners as the whole number amounted to sixty-four, among which, there were Benedetto and Antonio degli Alberti, Tomaso Strozzi, and several others; some of which received their honour much against their wills. In which accident, one thing is more then ordinarily remarkable; that those persons, some of them, whose houses were burned, were the same day knighted by the same persons which had burned them; so unconstant are the people, and so small the distance betwixt their kindness and revenge; an experiment of which was seen in their behaviour to Luigi Guicciardini, the Gonfaloniere della Giustitia. The Senators finding themselves abandoned by their Guards, by the chief of the Arts, and their Gonfaloniere themselves, were very much perplexed, nobody coming to their assistance, as they were commanded; and, of the sixteen Gonfaloni, there was only the Company of the Golden Lion, and two more, which appeared, and they staid not long in the Piazza; for, not finding themselves followed by their Brethren, they also returned to their houses. The Citizens, on the other side, seeing the fury of the multitude uncontrollable, and the Palace of the Signori deserted, some of them kept close in their houses; others thrust themselves into the crowd, thereby to secure their own houses and their friends; by which means the numbers of the people were much increased, and the power of the Senate extreamly diminished. The tumult continued in this violence all day long; and, at night, there were above 6000 men together at the Palace of Stephano, behind the Church of S. Barnaby. Before day, they constrained the several Arts to send for their Ensigns; and having got them in the morning, they marched with their Colours before them to the Palace of the Podesta, who refusing to surrender, they fell upon it, and forced it. The Senate desirous to compose things another way, perceiving nothing was to be done by force, called three Members of their Colleges, and

sent them to the Palace of the Podesta, who found that the heads of the people had been already in consultation with the Syndics of the Arts, and some other considerable Citizens, to resolve what was fit to be demanded of the Senate: so that they returned in a short time to the Senate, with four Deputies from the people and these following Proposals:

That the Cloathing Trade might not, for the future, be subject to the Government of a foreigner. That three new Companies, or Corporations, should be erected; one to consist of Carders and Dyers; another of Barbers, Taylors, Shoemakers, and such other Mechanicks; and the third, of the more inferior Trades; out of which Companies two should be chosen to sit in the Senate, and three to sit among the fourteen which had the Government of the Artiminori, or inferior Trades. That the Senate should provide Halls for these Companies, where they might meet and consult about their affairs. That no person, of any of these Companies, should be constrained to pay any debt under fifty Duckets for the space of two years. That no Interest should be paid out of the Banks, and only the Principal to be restored. That all prisoners and condemned persons should be discharged. That all the Ammoniti should be re-admitted to all honours. Many other things were demanded in behalf of their friends; and, on the contrary, as to their enemies, they insisted that several of them might be imprisoned, and several admonished. To give perfection to all, it was necessary they should be ratified in the Council of the Commons; which was deferred till the next, because two Councils were not to be held in one day. In the meantime, the Arts seemed all of them to be content, and the people to be satisfied; having promised, as soon as their Laws and Demands were confirmed, they would retire to their houses.

The next morning being come, and the Council of the Commons deliberating upon their demands, the voluble and impatient multitude were got together, and marching, with Ensigns displaid, into the Piazza, with so obstreperous and dreadful a noise as affrighted both the Council and Senate: whereupon Guerriante Marignouli, one of the Signori (induced more by fear than any private exception) went down, under pretence to secure the Gate below, and marched off to his house. He could not, however, convey himself so privately away, but the Rabble discovered him, yet without

any violence to him, only crying out, as he passed, that all the Senators should leave the Palace; if not, they would burn their houses, and knock their children on the head. By this time the Law they urged was concluded; the Senators returned to their Chambers; and the Council gone down (not daring to go forth), were walking up and down the Court and the Cloisters, despairing of the safety of the City, by reason of the brutishness and barbarity of the multitude, and the crossness or pusillanimity of those who might have either bridled or suppressed them. The Signori were likewise in no less doubt and confusion, seeing themselves not only forsaken by one of their own Members, but relieved by nobody, neither with intelligence nor supplies. Whilst they were in this hesitation, uncertain what they ought, or what they were able to do, Tomaso Strozzi and Benedetto Alberti (prompted by private ambition of being themselves the last of the Senators which should remain in the Palace, or else because it was really their judgment) persuaded them to give way, to yield to the fury of the people, and retire privately, every man to his own house. This counsel being given by persons who had been Heads of the people (though others seem to approve it), displeased Alamanno Acciaivoli and Nicolo de Bene exceedingly, who (recollecting their courage) made answer, That, if others of the Senate had a mind to depart, they would not hinder them; but, for their parts, till the expiration of their authority permitted them, they were resolved not to leave the Palace but with the loss of their lives. This difference redoubled the horror of the Senate and the rage of the people; insomuch that the Gonfaloniere, choosing to resign his Office with shame, rather than retain it with danger, recommended himself to Tomaso Strozzi's protection, who took him out of the Palace and conducted him to his house: in like manner, the rest of the Signori departed one after another; and Alamanno and Nicolo (who were so magnanimous before), lest they should be thought more valiant than wise, got out also, and returned like the rest; so that the Palace remained in the hands of the people, and the eight Officers for the administrations of War, who had not as yet laid down their Commands.

When the people made their entrance into the Palace, the Ensigns of the Gonfaloniere di Giustitia were carried by one Michaele di Lando, a Carder of Wooll. This Michaele (without

shoes on his feet, and scarce cloaths on his back) being followed by a great rout, ran up to the top of the stairs; and being got within hearing of the place where the Senators sate, he turned himself about to the multitude, and said, You see, Gentlemen, this Palace, and this City, is yours, how shall they be disposed of, or what is your pleasure shall be done? To which they universally replied, it was their pleasure he should be Gonfaloniere, and govern the City as he thought best. Michaele accepted the Office, being a prudent and sagacious Man, more obliged to Nature than Fortune; and the first thing he resolved was, to compose the Tumults and settle the City. To hold the People employed, and gain time for the digestion of his designs, he commanded them abroad, in search of one Ser Nuto (who had been intended for Provost Marshal by Lapo da Castiglionochio), and most of those who were about him went away in his pursuit. To begin, then, his dominion with Justice, as he had acquired it by Grace, he caused Proclamation to be made, that no Man should dare to burn or steal anything for the future; and to terrifie the more, he caused a Gallows to be set up in the Piazza: proceeding next to the reformation of the City, he turned out the Syndics of the Arts, and put new in their places; he deprived the Signori and the Colleges of their Authority, and burned the Bags of their Office. By this time the People had found Ser Nuto, brought him to the Palace, tied him up to the Gallows by one of his legs, and every one that was about him having torn off a piece, in a moment's time there was nothing of him to be seen but one of his feet. On the other side, the Otto della Guerra (supposing the Government in them, upon the departure of the Signori) had designed new Senators to succeed them. But Michaele understanding it, sent to them to be gone out of the Palace, and to let them know it should appear to all People that he could govern Florence without their counsel or assistance. After this he assembled the Syndics of the Arts, and created four new Senators out of the inferior sort of People; two for the better, and two for the worser Trades. Moreover, he divided the State into three parts; one of them to relate to the new Arts, another to the less, and the third to the greater. He gave to Salvestro de' Medici the revenue of the Shops upon the old Bridge; to himself, the Podestaria of Empoli; besides many

other Acts of beneficence to several Citizens and friends of all people, not so much for their own sakes, but that they might be always willing and able to defend him. The People, however, began to suspect that Michaele was partial to the better sort, and to discern that they had not so much interest in the Government as would be necessary for their safety. Whereupon, pushed forward by their accustomed insolence, they took Arms again, and came marching, with their Colours flying, to the Piazza, in a bravado, requiring the Senators to come down to the Ringheria, and deliberate upon certain new Things they had to propose for their security and good. Michaele was sensible of their insolence, but (not to provoke them any farther, before he knew what they would have) he only blamed their manner of address, desired them to lay down their Arms, and that then, by fair means, they should obtain that which did not stand with the Dignity of the Government to grant by constraint: with which answer the People being highly incensed, they drew up at new S. Maries, against the Palace, and created eight Commissioners, with their Ministers and Dependants, to gain themselves reverence and reputation: so as at that time the City had two Tribunals, and were governed by two distinct Administrations. Among the Commissioners it was resolved, that eight Persons, to be chosen by the body of the Arts, should be always resident in the Palace, with the Senators, to give sanction to whatever the Signori resolved upon. They took from Salvestro de' Medici and Michaele de Lando whatever in their former Councils they had conferred upon them; assigning several Offices and Pensions to many of their Friends, to support the Dignity of their Employments. Having concluded, in this manner, among themselves, to make all the more valid, they sent two of their Members to the Senate, to demand their confirmation; otherwise, to let them know that what they could not obtain by civil application, they were able to do by force. These two Commissioners delivered their message to the Senate with great confidence and presumption; upbraiding the Gonfaloniere by his Office, and other honours which he had received from them; and that, in return, he had most ungratefully behaved himself towards them; and coming, at the end of their objurgation, to threaten him; Michaele, unable to endure so great insolence, more suitably to the Majesty of his Place than

the Meanness of his Birth, resolved, by some extraordinary way, to correct such extraordinary impudence, and drawing his sword, he cut them very much, and caused them afterwards to be manacled and imprisoned.

This action of the Gonfaloniere was no sooner known but it put all the multitude in a flame : and believing they should be able to gain that by violence which they could not compass without, they immediately to their Arms, and marched round about the Palace, to find where, with most advantage, they might fall on. Michaele, on the other side, suspecting the worst, resolved to be before-hand, as judging it more honourable to fall upon them abroad than to expect them within the walls, till they fell upon him, and forced him out of the Palace (as they had done his Predecessors) with great shame and dishonour. Gathering, therefore, together a great number of Citizens (who having found their error, were resorted to him), he marched out as strong as he could, on horse-back, and advanced to fight them as far as new S. Maries.

The people, as I said before, were as forward as he ; and marching about towards the Palace, to take their advantage, it happened Michaele made his sally at the same time, and they missed one another. Michaele returning, found the people had possessed themselves of the Piazza and were storming the Palace ; whereupon he charged them so smartly on the rear, that he brake them immediately ; some of them he chaced out of the City, and forced the rest to throw down their Arms and hide themselves. This victory being obtained, the tumult dissolved, and the City became quiet, and all by the single valour of the Gonfaloniere, who for Courage, Generosity, and Prudence was superior to any Citizen of his time, and deserves to be numbered among the few Benefactors to their Country : for, had he been ambitious or ill-disposed, the City had lost its liberty, and relapsed into greater tyranny than that in the time of the Duke of Athens. But his goodness would not admit a thought against the good of the publick ; and his prudence managed things so, that many submitted to him, and the rest he was able to subdue.

These passages amazed the common people, and put the better sort of Artificers into an admiration of their own stupidity, who could not endure the grandeur of the Nobility, were now forced

to truckle to the very scum of the people. When Michaele had this good fortune against the people, at the same time new Senators were drawn, two of which were of so vile and abject condition, everybody desired to quit themselves of so infamous a Magistracy. Whereupon, the first day of September, when the Signori made the first entrance upon their Office, the people being so thick that the Palace was full of armed men, there was a cry sent forth from them, that no Senator should be made out of the meaner sort of the people; and, in satisfaction to them, the Senate degraded the other two (one of which was called Tira, and the other Boraccio), and, in their places, Georgio Scali and Francesco di Michaele were elected.

Afterwards they dissolved the Corporations of the meaner Trades, and of all their dependants; only Michaele di Lando, Ludovico di Puccio, and some few others were excepted. They divided the Magistracy into two parts; one for the greater, the other for the lesser sort of Arts. Only it was concluded the Senate should contain five of the lesser Arts, and four of the greater; the Gonfaloniere to be chosen sometimes out of one, and sometimes out of the other. This Constitution and Establishment settled the City for a while: and although the Government was taken out of the hands of the people, yet the Artificers of the meanest quality had more power than the popular Nobility, who were forced to comply, to satisfie the Arts, and divide them from the baser sort of people. This was much approved by those who desired the faction of the Guelfs (which had handled several of the Citizens with so great violence) might be depressed; among the rest which were advanced by this new model, Georgio Scali, Benedetto Alberti, Salvestro de' Medici, and Tomaso Strozzi were made, as it were, Princes of the City. These proceedings exasperated the jealousies betwixt the popular Nobility and the meaner sort of people, by the instigation of the Ricci and Albizi; of which two parties, because we shall have frequent occasion to discourse (many sad and great actions happening afterwards betwixt them), we shall, for better distinction, call one of them the Popular, and the other the Plebeian Party, for the future.

This Government continued three years, with frequent examples both of banishment and death: for those who were at the helm, knowing there were many male-contents both within the City

and without, lived in perpetual fear. They who were discontented within attempted or conspired every day something or other against the State. Those without (having no restraint upon them) by means sometimes of this Prince, sometimes of this Common-wealth, raised several scandals both of the one side and the other. At that time, Gionnozzo da Salerno, General for Carlo Durazzo, who was descended from the King of Naples, happened to be at Bologna, attending a design which, they said, Durazzo had undertaken against Queen Giovanna, at the instigation of the Pope, who was her mortal enemy. There were in Bologna, at the same time, several Exiles from Florence, who held strict intelligence both with Pope Urban and Carlo: which was the cause that those who governed in Florence, living in great jealousie, gave credit easily to the calumniations of all those Citizens that were suspected. During this general apprehension, news was brought to the Magistrate, that Gionnozzo da Salerno, with the assistance of all those who were banished, was to march down with his Army against Florence; and that several in the City had ingaged to take Arms in his behalf, and to deliver up the Town. Upon this information, many were accused; in the first place, Piero degli Albizi and Carlo Strozzi were named; and after them, Capriano Mangioni, Jacopo Sacchetti, Donato Barbadore, Philippo Strozzi, and Giovanni Anselmi; all which were secured, except Carlo Strozzi, who escaped; and (that nobody might dare to take Arms for their rescue) the Senate deputed Tomaso Strozzi and Benedetto Alberti, with a competent number of Soldiers, to secure the City. The Prisoners being examined, and their Charge and Answer compared, they were found not Guilty, and the Captain refused to condemn them: hereupon those who were their enemies incensed the people so highly against them, that, in a great fury, they forced the Captain to condemn them. Neither could Piero degli Albizi be excused, either for the greatness of his family or the antiquity of his reputation; he having a long time been the most feared and the most reverenced Citizen in Florence. Whereupon, either some of his true friends (to teach him moderation in the time of his greatness) or some of his enemies (to check and alarm him with the unconstancy of fortune), at a great Treat which he had made for several of the Citizens, sent him a salver of Comfits, among

which a Nail was privately conveyed; which being discovered in the dish, and viewed by the whole Table, it was interpreted as an admonishment to him, to fix the wheel of his fortune; for being now at the height, if its rotation continued, he must of necessity fall to the ground; which interpretation was verified first by his fall, and then by his death. After this execution the City remained full of confusion, both Conquerors and Conquered being afraid: but the saddest effects proceeded from the jealousie of the Governours, every little accident provoking them to new injuries against the Citizens, by condemning, admonishing, or banishing them the Town; to which may be added, the many new Laws and Ordinances which they made to fortifie their authority; which were executed with great prejudice to all such as were suspected by their party: for by them sixty-six were commissioned, with the assistance of the Senate, to purge the Common-wealth of such people as they thought dangerous to the State. These Commissioners admonished thirty-nine Citizens, several of the Populace, and debased many of the Nobles; and to oppose themselves more effectually against foreign invasions, they entertained into their pay an Englishman, called John Aguto, an excellent Officer, and one who had commanded in Italy for the Pope, and other Princes, a long time. Their alarms from abroad were caused by intelligence, that Carlo Durazzo was raising several Companies for the invasion of the Kingdom of Naples; and the Florentine Exiles joyned with him in the Expedition; but to obviate that danger, they provided not only what force, but what money was possible; and when Carlo came with his Army to Arezzo, the Florentines being ready with forty thousand Florins to receive him, he promised he would not molest them. After he had received their money, he proceeded in his enterprize against Naples; and having taken the Queen, he sent her Prisoner into Hungary. His Victory there suggested new jealousie into the Governours of Florence: they could not imagine their money could have greater influence upon the King than the friendship his family had long maintained with the Faction of the Guelfs, who were undone by him. Apprehensions increasing at this rate, enormities increased with them; which were so far from extinguishing their fears, that they were exceedingly multiplied; and the greater part of the City were in great

discontent. To make things worse, the insolence of Giorgio Scali and Tomaso Strozzi was added; who being grown more powerful than the Magistrate, every one feared, lest, by their conjunction with the Plebeians, they should be ruined.

Nor did this Government seem violent and tyrannical to good men only, but to the seditious and debauched: for this arrogance of Giorgio's being sometime or other, of necessity, to have an end; it happened that Giovanni di Cambio was accused by one of his acquaintance, for practising against the State: but upon examination, Cambio was found innocent by the Captain; and the Judge gave sentence, that the Informer should suffer the same punishment which should have been inflicted on the other, had his charge been made good. Giorgio interposed, with his entreaties and authority to preserve him; but, not prevailing, he and Tomaso Strozzi, with a number of armed men, rescued him by force, plundered the Captain's Palace, and forced him to hide himself. This action made the whole City detest him, put his enemies upon contriving his destruction, and plotting which way they might redeem the City out of his hands, and the Plebeians (who, for three years together, had had the command of it).

To this design the Captain gave the opportunity; for the tumult being appeased, he went to the Senate, and told them:

That he had chearfully accepted the Office to which they had elected him, presuming he had served Persons of Honour and Equity, who would have taken Arms to have promoted and vindicated Justice, rather than to have obstructed it: But his observation and experience had acquainted him with the Governours of the City, and their manner of Conversation; that dignity which so willingly he had taken up for the benefit of his Country, to avert the danger and detriment impending, he was as ready to lay down.

The Captain was sweetned by the Senate, and much confirmed by a Promise made to him of Reparation for what he had suffered already, and Security for the future. Hereupon, several of them consulting with such of the Citizens as they thought greatest lovers of their Country, and least suspicious to the State, it was concluded that they had now a fair opportunity to redeem the City out of the clutches of Giorgio and his Plebeians (most People having alienated their Affections from him, upon his last Insolence), and the best way would be to improve it before they

had time to reconcile; for they knew the Favour of the People was to be lost and gained by the least accident in the world.

For the better conduct of their Affairs, it was thought necessary that Benedetto Alberti should be drawn into the Plot, without whose concurrence the Enterprize would be dangerous. This Benedetto was a very rich Man, courteous, sober, a true lover of his Country, and one infinitely dissatisfied with the irregularity of their ways; so that it was no hard matter to persuade him to anything that might contribute to the ruine of Giorgio; for that which had made him before an enemy to the Popular Nobility and the faction of the Guelfs, was the insolence of the one, and the tyranny of the other; and afterwards finding the Heads of the Multitude no better than they, he forsook them likewise, and all the Misdemeanors and Impieties which were committed after that were done without his Approbation or Consent; so that the same Reasons which inclined him to the People at first, the same Reasons impelled him now to desert them.

Having brought Benedetto and the Heads of the Arts to their Lure in this manner, and furnished themselves with Arms, they seized upon Giorgio, but Tomaso escaped. The next day after he was apprehended, Giorgio was beheaded, with so great terror and consternation to his Party, that they were so far from endeavouring his Rescue, that all of them crowded in to behold his Execution. Being brought to die before those People who had so lately adored him, he complained of the iniquity of his Fortune, and the malignity of those Citizens who, by their Injury and Injustice, had constrained him to side with a Multitude which was not capable either of Gratitude or Fidelity; and discovering Benedetto in the midst of the Guards, he said, And can you, Benedetto, consent that this Wrong should be done to me? Were you in my place, I assure you I would not suffer it: but let me tell you, this day is the last of my Misfortunes, and the first of yours. After which, lamenting his unhappiness in having committed his Fortunes and Life to the constancy of the People, which is shaken by every rumor, or accident, or conceit, he laid down his Head, and it was cut off in the midst of his armed and insulting Enemies: after him several of his Confederates were executed, and their Bodies dragged about the Streets by the People. His death put the whole City into commotion; for at

his execution, many Citizens had put themselves into Arms in favour of the Senators and the Captain of the People, and some upon the dictates of their own private ambition and revenge. The City being full of various humours, every one had his private design, which all desired to compass before they laid down their Arms. The ancient Nobility called Grandi, could not brook that they were deprived of publick Employments, and therefore set all their Wits upon the Tenters, to recover what they had lost; and armed, upon pretence of re-investing the Captains of the Arts with their original Authority. The popular Nobility and the greater Arts were disgusted that the Government should be communicated to the inferior Arts and the lowest sort of the People. On the other side, the inferior Arts were disposed to augment, not detract from their Authority; and the meaner sort of People were as tender and jealous of losing their Colleges: which Distractions caused the City to tumulate several times in one Year; sometimes the Nobility; sometimes the better Trades; sometimes the lesser; sometimes the common People; and sometimes altogether betaking to their Arms in several parts of the Town; upon which, many Skirmishes and Rencounters happened betwixt them and the Guards of the Palace; the Senators contending sometimes, and sometimes complying, as they judged most likely to remedy those Inconveniences. So that after two Treaties, and several Balias created for the Reformation of the City, after many Mischiefs, and Troubles, and Dangers, they came to an Agreement, That all who had been imprisoned after Salvestro de Medici was made Gonfaloniere, should be discharged. That all Dignities and Pensions conferred by the Balia of seventy-eight should be taken away. That their Honours should be restored to the Guelfs. That the two new Arts should be deprived of their Incorporation and Governors, and all their Members and Dependents disposed into the old Companies as formerly. That the Gonfaloniere di Giustitia should not be elected by the lesser Arts; and whereas before they had the disposition of half, they should hereafter be capable but of a third part of the Offices of the City, and the best of them too, to be put out of their Power: so that the popular Nobility and the Guelfs re-assumed the whole Government and the Commons were absolutely dispossessed, after they

had held it from the year 1378 to 1381. Nor was this Magistracy less injurious towards the Citizens, nor less grievous in its principles, than the Government of the people; many of the popular Nobility, who had been eminent defenders of the people's interest, being clapped in prison, with great numbers of the chief of the Plebeians: Among which Michaele Lando was one; nor could the many good Offices which he had done in the time of his authority protect him from the rage of that party, when the licentious and unrestrained multitude ruined the City: so little was his Country thankful for all his great actions. Into which error, because many Princes and Common-wealths do frequently fall, it happens that men terrified by such examples, before they can be made sensible of their Princes' ingratitude, do fall into their displeasure. These slaughters and these exilements had always, and did then displease Benedetto Alberti; and he both publickly and privately condemned them. Whereupon the Government were fearful of him, as believing him one of the Plebeians' principal friends, and one who had consented to the death of Giorgio Scali, not out of any disapprobation of his conduct, but that he might remain alone in authority after him. By degrees his words and demeanour came to be suspicious, and the party that was uppermost watched him very narrowly, to find out some occasion to send him after Giorgio. Things being in this posture at home, no great action happened abroad; that little which did happen, was occasioned more by fear of what they might, than from any prejudice that was actually sustained. Louis of Anjou coming into Italy about that time, to drive Carlo Durazzo out of the Kingdom of Naples, and repossess the Queen Giovanna, the passage of this Prince put the Florentines into no little distraction; Carlo, upon the old score of amity, desired their assistance; Louis (like those who seek new friendships) demanded their neutrality. The Florentines (that they might please both parties, if possible), to comply with Louis and supply Carlo, discharged Aguto from their service, and recommended him to Pope Urban, who was a professed enemy to Carlo; which artifice was easily discovered by Louis, and he thought himself much injured thereby. While the War continued in Apulia betwixt Louis and Charles, supplies were sent out of France to reinforce Louis, which Forces (being arrived in Tuscany) were conducted to

Arezzo by those who were banished out of that Town, where they removed all those who were of Charles his party; and just as they designed the same measures against Florence as they had taken against Arezzo, Louis died, and the affairs of Apulia and Tuscany followed his fate, for Charles secured himself of his Kingdom, which he thought he had lost; and the Florentines, who were not sure to defend their own, bought Arezzo of those who had kept it for Louis. Charles having secured himself of Apulia, departed for Hungaria (which Kingdom was, by inheritance, descended to him), leaving his Wife behind him in Apulia, with Ladislao and Giovanna (two of his children), as shall be shewn more fully.

Carlo possessed himself of Hungary, but died shortly after; however, his Conquest of that Country was so grateful an exploit to the Florentines, that never greater expressions of joy were made for any victory of their own, as appeared as well by publick as private magnificence, many Families keeping open houses and feasting exceedingly, but none with that pomp and extravagance as the Family of the Alberti, the provision and ostentation of whose entertainments were fitter for the condition of a Prince than for a private person. Which extravagance gained him much envy, and that, being seconded by a jealousie in the Government, that Benedetto had designs against it, was the occasion of its destruction: for they could not be safe whilst they thought it might fall out every day that he (reconciling himself with the people) might turn them out of the City as he pleased. Things being at this uncertainty, it happened that he being Gonfaloniere della Companie, his Son-in-Law, Philippo Magalotti, was made Gonfaloniere di Giustitia; which accident redoubled the apprehension of the Governors, as thinking Benedetto grew upon them so fast, their authority must of necessity decline: but desirous to remedy it what they could, and, if possible, without a tumult, they encouraged Bese Magalotte (his enemy and competitor) to acquaint the Senate, that Philippo not being of age for the execution of that Office, he could not, nor ought not enjoy it: and the cause being heard in the Senate, Philippo was adjudged incapable of that Dignity, and Bardo Mancini succeeded in his place; a person fiercely against the faction of the people, and a perfect enemy to Benedetto. Having entered upon his Office, he called

a Balia for reformation of the State, which Balia imprisoned Benedetto Alberti, and banished all the rest of his Family, only Antonio was excepted. Before he was carried away, Benedetto called all his friends together, to take his leave of them; and finding them sad, and the tears in their eyes, he spake to them as follows:—

You see (Gentlemen) in what manner fortune has ruined me, and threatned you: I do not wonder at it, nor indeed ought it to be strange to you: seeing it so happens always to them who, among ill men, are studious of being good, or sollicitous of sustaining that which all people are desirous to pull down. The love to my Country associated me first with Salvestro de Medici; and the same love divided me afterward from Giorgio Scali: it is nothing but that, and the injustice of their proceedings, which have made me hate those who are now at the Stern; who, as they have had nobody that could punish them, so they are desirous to leave nobody to reprehend them. I am content with my banishment, to free them of the fear they have conceived not only of me, but of that are sensible of all their Tyranny and Injustice. For myself I am not so much concerned; the honours conferred upon me when my Country was free, I can quietly relinquish whilst it is in servitude and bondage; and the memory of my past Condition will give me more pleasure, than the infelicity of my present can give me regret. My greatest affliction will be to consider my Country is become a prey to particular men, and exposed to their insolence and rapine: it troubles me likewise for you, lest those evils which this day are consummated in me, and but commencing in you, should prove greater detriment to you than they have done to me: however, comfort yourselves, bear up against any misfortune, and carry yourselves so, that if things happen adversely (as doubtless they will), it may appear to all people that you were innocent, and that they succeeded without the least fault or contribution of yours.

Afterwards, to give as great testimony of his virtue abroad as he had done at home, he went to the Sepulchre of our Saviour, and, in his return back, died at Rhodes. His bones were brought back to Florence, and buried with great solemnity by those very people who pursued him, whilst he was living, with all the calumny and injustice imaginable: nor were the Alberti the only sufferers in these distractions; many Families beside that were admonished

and imprisoned. Among the rest there were Biero Benini, Matteo Alderotti, Giovanni and Francesco del Bene, Giovanni Benchi, Andrea Adimari, and with them several of the lesser Artificers. Among them which were admonished were the Covoni, the Benini, the Rinucoi, the Formiconi, the Corbizi, the Manelli, and the Alderotti. The Balia was by custom created for a precise time, and being now in the execution of these Citizens who were fairly elected, having done what they could for the satisfaction of the State, they desired to lay down, though their time was not critically expired; which the people understanding, many of them ran with their Arms to the Palace, crying out there were several more to be admonished, and several more to be imprisoned, before they renounced. The Senate was much displeased, but entertained them with fair promises, till they had fortified themselves so as they were able to make them lay by those Arms for fear which in their rage they had taken up: nevertheless, to comply in some proportion with the fierceness of the humour, and lessen the Authority of the Plebeian Artificers, it was ordered, that whereas the third part of the Offices of the City were in their hands before, they should now be reduced to a fourth part only: and (that there might always be two of the most trusty and faithful persons to the State in the Senate) authority was given to the Gonfaloniere di Giustitia, and four other Citizens, to put a certain number of select men's names into a purse, out of which, at every meeting of the Senate, two were to be drawn.

Affairs thus settled in the year 1381, the City continued quiet within till 1393; in which year Giovan Galeazzo Visconti (called the Comte di Vertu) took his Uncle Barnabo prisoner, and made himself, by that, Master of all Lombardy. This Comte di Vertu had an opinion he could make himself King of Italy by force, as easily as he had made himself Duke of Milan by fraud; so that in the year 1390, he began a War upon the Florentines, which, though prosecuted with variety of fortune on both sides, yet the Duke was many times in danger to have ruined Florence; and doubtless had ruined it, had not it been prevented by his death. However, their defence was courageous, as might be expected from a Republick, and the end of the War less unhappy than the course of it had been dreadful; for when the Duke had taken Bologna, Pisa, Perugia, and Siena, and prepared a Crown,

to be crowned King of Italy in Florence, he died in the nick, and his death permitted him not to taste the pleasures of his past Victories, nor the Florentines to feel the calamities which would have followed their Losses. Whilst this War with the Duke was on foot, Maso degli Albizi was made Gonfaloniere di Giustitia, who, upon Piero's death, was become a great enemy to the Alberti: and (because, in all Factions, the humour and animosity does still ferment and increase) Maso (though Benedetto was dead in his banishment) had an itching desire, before he laid down his Office, to be revenged of that Family; and he took his opportunity upon the examination of a certain person who impeached Alberto and Andrea degli Alberti of intelligence with the Rebels. Upon this accusation they were immediately taken into custody, and the whole frame of the City altered. The Senate took Arms, assembled the People, created a Balia, by authority of which many Citizens were confined, and new imborsation of Officers made: most of the Alberti were confined; many Artificers admonished and put to death. Upon which provocation, the Arts and inferior sort of People took Arms, in as much heat as if their Lives or Reputation had been taken from them. Part of them ran to the Piazza, and part to the House of Veri de' Medici, who, after the death of Salvestro, was become the head of that Family. To cajole those who were in the Market-place, the Senate sent Rinaldo Gianfigliazzi and Donato Acciaivoli (as persons more acceptable to the people than any else) to command them, and sent with them the Ensign of the Guelfs and the People. Those who went to the house of Veri, begged of him to take the Government upon him, and free them from the Tyranny of those Citizens who were enemies to everything that was good. All those who have left any memorials of the passages of those times do agree in this: That, had not Veri been more vertuous than ambitious, he might have made himself Prince of the City without any impediment: for the great damages justly and unjustly sustained by the Arts and their friends had so incensed them, that there wanted nothing but an head to satiate their revenge. Nor was Veri without those that minded him of his advantage; for Antonio de' Medici (who had long time borne him a grudge) persuaded him very earnestly to take the Government upon him, to whom Veri returned this Answer:

As your threats, when you were mine enemy, did never affright me, so your Counsels, now you are my friend, shall never delude me.

And, turning about to the multitude, he bid them be courageous, for he would secure them, if they would follow his direction. Then, marching in the midst of them into the Piazza, he went up to the Senate, and told them :—

That he could not be sorry his conversation had been such as had procured him the love of the People; but yet he was much troubled they had made a wrong judgment of him, not at all suitable to what his conversatiou had deserved: for, never having given the least example of ambition or faction, he could not but wonder from whence they should deduce their opinion; that, as a turbulent person, he would be the maintainer of their factions, and, as an ambitious Man, the Governour of their State. He begged of their Lordships, that the error of the multitude might not be imputed to him; for whatever was in his power, he submitted to them, with the first opportunity; he recommended it to them to use their fortune temperately, and content themselves quietly with an imperfect victory, rather than to make it intire by the destruction of the whole City.

Veri was much applauded by the Senate; they desired that he would be a means that all Arms might be laid down, and that afterwards they would not fail to do what he and the other Citizens should advise. After his harangue in the Senate, Veri returned into the Piazza, and having joyned his Brigade, with those under the Command of Rinaldo and Donato, he gave this account to them all: That he found the Signori very well disposed towards them: that many things had been proposed, but the shortness of the time, and the absence of the Magistrates had prevented any conclusion; wherefore he made it his request to them, that they would lay aside their Arms, and give obedience to the Senate, assuring them, that with the Senate gentleness would prevail farther than insolence, and entreaty than threatning; and that they should want neither security nor preferment, if they would be directed by him: upon which assurance they all returned to their Houses. Arms being in this manner laid down, the Senate secured the palace with the Guards; then they lifted 2000 Citizens which were best affected to the State, and divided them equally by Companies, with orders to be ready to relieve them whenever

they were called: the rest which were not listed were not suffered to bear Arms. These preparations being made, they imprisoned many of the Artificers, and put several of them to death who had been most pragmatical in the late commotions; and, to add more majesty and reputation to the Gonfaloniere della Giustitia, it was provided that no person should be capable of that Office under forty-five years of age. To secure their Government, they made several other Laws and Ordinances which were insupportable, not only to the persons against whom they were made, but even to those who were honest, and of their own party; for they could not believe a State well grounded, or safe, that was to be defended with so much violence and severity. Nor were the Alberti which remained in the City the only persons dissatisfied with these proceedings, nor the Medici (who looked upon the People as merely over-reached); many others were with this extravagant severity exceedingly disgusted. The first man that opposed them was Donato, the son of Acciaivoli. This Donato, though he was one of the Grandees of the City, and rather superior than equal to Maso degli Albizi (who, for service done in his Gonfaloniership, was become, as it were, Master of the City), yet, among so many malecontents, it was impossible he should be pleased, nor prefer as many people do) private advantage before publick convenience: and therefore his first project was, to try if he could recall those who were banished, or at least restore the Ammoniti to their old Offices and Commands. To this purpose he insinuated with several Citizens, whispering it into the ears first of one, and then of another; that there could be no other way to quiet the People, or stop the dissention of the Parties; concluding, that he attended only till he was of the Senate, and then he would make it his business to bring it to pass. And because, in all humane Actions, delay breeds weariness, and haste danger, to avoid the one, he ran himself upon the other.

Among the Senators there were Michaele Acciaivoli, his confederate, and Nicolo Ricoveri, his friend. Donato judged this too fair an opportunity to be slipped; and therefore desired them, that they would move to the Council for a Law for restauration of the Citizens. Being over-persuaded by him, they proposed it to their Brethren, who were all of opinion that Innovations are not to be attempted where the Success is doubtful and the Danger

inevitable. Whereupon Donato, having tried all ways in vain, in his Passion caused it to be told them, that seeing they would not permit the City to be reformed by fair means, it should be done by foul: which Words being highly resented, the Senate communicating the whole Business with the principal Governors, cited Donato, who, upon his Appearance, being confronted and convicted by the Person to whom he delivered his Message, he was committed to custody, and confined to Barlette. With him were imprisoned Alamanno and Antonio de' Medici, with all which were descended of Alamanno's Family, and several others of the more inferior Arts, that were in Reputation with the People. All these Things happened within two Years after Maso had reassumed the Government. The City remaining in this Posture, many Discontents at home and many Exiles abroad, there chanced to be at Bologna among the banished Men, Picchio Cavicciulli, Tomaso de' Ricci, Antonio de' Medici, Benedetto degli Spini, Antonio Girolami, Christofano di Carlone, with two more of inferior Condition, all of them young, brisk, and disposed to encounter any difficulty that hindered their return to their Country. To these it was privately signified by Piggiello and Baroccio Cavicciulli (who, at the same time, were admonished in Florence), that if they would come into the Town, they would convey them into an House, from whence they might kill Maso degli Albizi, and call the People to Arms; who being discontented, would be easily provoked; and the rather, because they would be headed by the Ricci, Adimari, Medici, Menelli, and several other considerable Families. Allured by these hopes, on the 4th of August 1397, they arrived privately in Florence; and (being disposed of according to Agreement) they sent out to observe the Motions of Maso, by whose Death they presumed they should raise a Tumult among the People. Maso was gone out, and (by accident) in an Apothecary's Shop not far from San Piero Maggiore; the Messenger that was to set him, seeing of him there, repaired immediately to his Comrades, to give them information; who taking their Swords, ran directly to the Place, but he was gone. Not at all discouraged with their first Miscarriage, they turned towards the old Market, where they killed one of their Adversaries. Upon which, a great noise being raised, and a clamor of the People, crying out, Arm, Liberty, Arm; let the

Tyrants die, they marched towards the new Market, where near the Calimara they slew another; and so going forward with the same shout and out-cry, nobody taking Arms, they stopped in the Loggia della Nighitosa: and mounting there upon the highest Place they could find, the Multitude being round about them (but come rather to stare than assist), they exhorted them to take Arms, and free themselves from a Bondage which so highly they abhorred; they assured them, the Complaints and Lamentations of such as were oppressed in the City, had moved them to endeavour their Liberty, and not any private Injury to themselves: that they were sensible they had the Prayers of many good People; that God would give opportunity to their Designs. Had they had an Head, to have commanded them, it was believed they would have succeeded at any time; but now occasion was offered, and they had Captains enough to conduct them, they stood gaping one upon another, expecting like Sots, till those Persons who endeavoured their Freedom were knocked on the Head, and their Slavery redoubled. They could not likewise but marvel that they who, upon the least Injury, were heretofore ready to take Arms, should not stir now upon so great and numerous Provocations, but suffer so many of their Citizens to be banished and admonished, when it was in their Power to restore the one to their Country, and the other to their Offices. These Words (how true soever) moved not the Multitude in the least, either because they were afraid, or else because the death of the two Persons which were killed had made the Murderers odious: so that the founders of the Tumult perceiving that neither Words nor Actions would work anything, understanding too late how dangerous it is to enterprize the liberty of a People that are resolved to be Slaves, and despairing of success, they retreated into the Church of S. Reparata, not to secure their Lives, but to protect their Deaths. Upon the first noise of this Tumult, the Senate had armed, and caused the Palace to be shut up; but when they heard what the business was, who were the Authors, and what was become of them, they took courage, and commanded the Captain, with what Forces he could get, to go and apprehend them; which was no hard matter to perform; for the Church-doors being broken open, and part of them slain, the rest were taken prisoners; who, upon examination, confessed nothing, but

that Baroccio and Pigiello Cavicciulli were the only Incendiaries, and they were both of them killed.

After this accident, there happened another of greater importance. About the time (as we said before) the City had Wars with the Duke of Milan, who finding open force was not like to prevail, applyed himself to artifice; and by the help of the Florentine Exiles (of which Lombardy was full) he procured a treaty with several in the Town, in which it was concluded, that at a certain day, from the nearest places to Florence they could contrive, the greatest part of the Exiles which were able to bear Arms, should pass by the river Arno into the City; and then joyning suddenly with their friends within, should run to the Palace of the Senate, and other houses of the chief Officers, and having slain them, model and reform afterwards as they pleased. Among the Conspirators in the Town there was one of the Ricci called Samminiato, who (as it falls out in most plots, where few are not sufficient, and many not secure) seeking for a companion, found an informer; for imparting the business to Salvestro Cavicciulli (whose own injuries, as well as his relations, might have made him more faithful), he postponing his future hopes to his present fear, discovered all to the Senate. Whereupon Samminiato being seized, they extorted the whole process of the Conspiracy, but of his accomplices nobody was taken but one Tomaso Davisi, who coming from Bologna, not knowing what was happened in Florence, was apprehended by the way, before he got thither; all the rest, upon the imprisonment of Samminiato, fled away in great fear, and dispersed. Samminiato and Tomaso being punished according to the quality of their offence, a new Balia was made of several Citizens, and authority given them to inquire farther after delinquents, and to secure the State. This Balia proclaimed Rebels, six of the Family of the Ricci, six of the Alberti, two of the Medici, three of the Scali, two of the Strozzi, Bindo Altoviti, Bernardo Adimari, and several others of meaner condition. They admonished, besides, the whole Family of the Alberti, Ricci, and Medici, for ten years, except only some few. Among those of the Alberti which were not admonished, Antonio was one, being esteemed a quiet and peaceable Man. Their jealousie of this plot being not yet out of their heads, a Monk happened to be apprehended, who had been observed,

whilst the conspiracy was on foot, to have passed many times betwixt Bologna and Florence, and he confessed he had frequently brought letters to Antonio. Antonio being taken into custody, denied it obstinately at first; but being confronted by the Monk, and the charge justified against him, he was fined in a sum of money, and banished three hundred Miles distance from the City; and that they might not always be in danger of the Alberti, they decreed that none of that Family above fifteen years of age should be suffered to continue in the Town. These things happened in the year 1400, two years after Giovan Galezo, Duke of Milan, died: whose death (as we have said before) put an end to a War that had been prosecuted for twelve years. After which, the Government having extended its authority, and all things at quiet both abroad and at home, they undertook the enterprize of Pisa, which succeeded so well; they took the Town very honourably, and enjoyed that and the rest very peaceably, till the year 1433: Only in the year 1412, the Alberti having transgressed against the terms of their banishment, a new Balia was erected, new provisions made for the security of the State, and new impositions inflicted upon that Family.

About this time the Florentines had War likewise against Ladislaus King of Naples, which ended in the year 1416, upon the death of that King. During the time of the War, finding himself too weak, he had given the City of Cortona to the Florentines, of which he was Lord; but afterwards recovering more strength, he renewed his War with them, and managed it so, that it was much more dangerous than the former; and had not his death determined it (as the other was by the death of the Duke of Milan), doubtless he had brought Florence into as great exigence as the Duke of Milan would have done; and endangered, if not ruined its Liberty. Nor did their War with this King conclude with less good fortune than the other; for when he had taken Rome, Sienna, La Marca, and Romagna, and nothing remained but Florence, to hinder his passage with his whole force into Lombardy, he died; so that death was always a true friend to the Florentines, and did more to preserve them than all their own conduct and courage could do. From the death of this King, this City remained at peace (both abroad and at home) eight years: at the end of that term, their Wars with Philip Duke

of Milan revived their factions, which could never be suppressed but with the subversion of the State, which had governed from the year 1371 to 1434, with much honour, and maintained many Wars with much advantage, having added to their Dominion, Arezzo, Pisa, Cortona, Livorno, and Monte Pulciano, and doubtless would have extended it farther, had the City been unanimous, and the old humours not been rubbed up and revived, as in the next Book shall be more particularly related.

BOOK IV.

ALL Cities, especially such as are not well constituted under the Titles of Common-wealths, do some time or other alter their Government, yet not, as many think, by means of Liberty and Subjection, but by occasion of servitude and licentiousness: for only the name of Liberty is pretended by popular Persons, such as are the instrument of licentiousness; and Servitude is sought for by those that are Noble, neither of them both desiring to be restrained either by Laws or anything else. Nevertheless when it does happen, as it happens but seldom, that a City has the good fortune to produce and advance some Wise, Honest, and Potent Citizen, by whom the Laws may be so ordered that the humours and emulations betwixt the Nobility and the People, if not perfectly composed, may be yet so well circumscribed and corrected, that they may be checked from breaking forth to its prejudice; Then it is that City may be called free, and that State pronounce itself durable; for being founded upon good Laws and Orders at first, it has not that necessity of good Men to maintain it. Of such Laws and Principles many Common-wealths were antiently constituted, and continued a long time. Others have wanted, and do still want them; which has frequently occasioned the variation of the Government, from Tyranny to Licentiousness; and from Licentiousness to Tyranny: for by reason of the powerful animosities in all of them, it is not, nor can be possible they should be of any duration, one disgusting the Good, and the other the Wise. One doing mischief with ease, and the other good with difficulty: in this the insolent have too much authority; in another the Sots; and therefore it is convenient that both one and the other be supported and maintained by the fortune and valour of some eminent Man, though he may be taken from them by death, or made unserviceable by misfortune. I say therefore, that Government which flourished in Florence from the death of

Giorgio Scali, which fell out in the year 1381, was supported first by the conduct of Maso degli Albizi, and afterwards by Nicolo Uzano.

This City from the year 1414 till the end of the 22 remained quiet, King Ladislaus being dead, and Lombardy divided into several Cantons; so that neither abroad nor at home had they the least cause of apprehension. The next Citizens in Authority to Nicolo Uzano were Bartolmeo Valori, Nerone de Nigi, Rinaldo degli Albizi, Neri di Gino, and Lapo Nicolini. The factions which sprung from the animosity betwixt the Albizi and the Ricci (which were with so much mischief revived afterward by Salvestro de' Medici) could never be extinguished, and although that which was most generally succoured prevailed but three years, and was afterwards depressed, yet the greatest part of the City had imbibed so much of their humour as could never be wrought out. True it is, the frequent exprobations, and constant persecutions of the heads of that party from the year 1381 to 1400, had almost brought them to nothing. The first Families which were persecuted, as the chief of that faction, were the Alberti, Ricci, and Medici, who were robbed of their Men, as well as their Money; and if any of them continued in the City, their employments and dignities were most certainly taken from them; which usage had indeed debased that party, and almost consumed it. However, the memory of the injuries received, and a secret desire of being revenged, lay close in the Hearts of many of them; and having no opportunity to show it, they kept it private to themselves. Those of the Popular Nobility who governed the City so quietly, committed two errours, which were the ruine of their Government: One was in their insolence, upon the long time of their Government: The other, that by reason of emulations among themselves, contracted by long possession of the State, they had not preserved that inspection which they ought to have done over those who were able to disturb them: Whereby (daily running themselves deeper in the displeasure of the People, and either not regarding new Plots, because they did not apprehend them, or else encouraging them, to supplant one another) the house of Medici recovered its Authority.

The first of them which began to rise was Giovanni the Son of Bicci, who, being grown very wealthy, of a benign and courteous

nature, by concession of those who governed, was made Supream Magistrate, and his advancement celebrated with so universal satisfaction and joy (the People believing they had now got a Protector) that the graver sort began to suspect it, and observing all the old humours reviving again. And Nicolo Uzano failed not to advertise the other Citizens, and to remonstrate how dangerous it was to promote one of so general a reputation: that disorders were easily suppressed in the beginning; but when grown to any height, they were hardly to be remedyed: and that he knew Giovanni to be a man in parts much superior to Salvestro. But Nicolo was not regarded by his Brethren, who envyed his reputation, and desired more company to take him down.

Florence being in this manner infested with these humours, which began privately to ferment, Philippo Visconti, second Son to John Galeazo, becoming Lord of Lombardy by the death of his Brother, supposing himself in a condition for some great enterprize, was very ambitious to recover the Sovereignty of Genoua, which was then free, under the administration and conduct of Tomaso da Campo Fregoso; but he durst not be too confident of success either in that or any other design, till he had entered into an alliance with the Florentines, the reputation of which, he concluded, would carry him thorow all. To that purpose he sent two Embassadors to Florence to propose it. Many Citizens advised to the contrary, though they were contented the amity which had been betwixt them for many years should be continued, yet they had no mind to a League, as knowing what reputation and advantage would accrue to him thereby, and how unprofitable it would be to their City. Others were for the League, by vertue of which they might put such terms upon him as (if he transgressed) should discover his ill intentions to the World, and justifie any War they should make upon him for the breach of his agreement: After great debate, a Peace was concluded, and Philip obliged himself not to meddle with anything on this side the Rivers Magra and Panaro.

Having settled his alliance, Philip fell upon Brescia, and took it; and after that upon Genoua, and took that contrary to the opinion of Florence, who had promoted the peace, they having been confident that Brescia, by the help of the Venetian, and Genoua by its own proper strength, would have been able to have

held out. And because in his Treaty with the Doge of Genoua, Philip had reserved Serezana and other Towns on this side the Magra, with condition whenever he would part with them, that the Genoeses should have the refusal (having broke his promise) the whole League was violated; besides, he had made an agree- with the Legat of Bologna. All which things considered together, altered the affections of the Florentines towards him, and being jealous of new troubles, made them look out for new remedies. Philip having intelligence of their apprehensions, to justifie him- self, and feel the inclinations of the Citizens, or else to lull and delude them, he sent Embassadors to Florence, to let them know he was much surprized at the suspicion he understood they had conceived against him, and was ready to renounce anything that might give them the least occasion of displeasure. The effect this Embassy produced in the City was only to divide it; part (and that the most considerable in the Government) was of opinion they should Arm, and put themselves into a Posture against the designs of their Enemies. If preparations were made, and Philip was quiet, no War would ensue, and they might contribute to a Peace. Others out of envy to the Government, or apprehension of the War, concluded it no Wisdom to be suspicious of a friend without great provocation, and that what he had done was not worthy (in their judgments) of such rigid proceedings. They knew well enough to create the Ten, and to raise Men was the same thing as declaring of War, which if done with so potent a Prince, would be certain ruine to the City, without any prospect of advantage; for if they prospered, and got the Victory, they could not make themselves Masters of anything considerable, Romagna being betwixt; nor could they attempt anything against Romagna by reason of its vicinity to the Church. However, their opinion prevailed who were for preparations; they created the Ten, they raised Soldiers, and laid new Taxes upon the People; which lying more heavily upon the common than the better sort of Citizens, filled the City with complaints, all People crying out of the oppression of the great People, who to satiate their Ambi- tion and enlarge their Authority, had engaged them in an expen- sive and unnecessary War: they were not yet come to an absolute rupture with the Duke, but all things were full of suspicion: For Philip, at the request of the Legate of Bologna (who was fearful

of Antonio Bentivogli, a banished Man, and at that time in the Castle of Bolognese), had sent new Forces into that City to secure it, which Forces being near the Dominions of Florence, created no little jealousie in that State. But that which gave the strongest alarm to all People, and made the greatest discovery of the War, was the Duke's practices at Furli. The Lord of Furli at that time was Giorgio Ordelaffi, who dying, left his Son Tibaldo to the Tutelage of Philip. The Mother suspecting the integrity of his Tutor, would have sent him to her Father, Lodovico Alidossi, Lord of Imola, but the People of Furli constrained her to deliver him up to Philip, in pursuance of the Testament of Ordelaffi. Philip to disguise his designs, and give less occasion of jealousie, ordered the Marquess of Ferrara to send Guido Torelli with certain Soldiers to take possession of Furli in his name, and as his Lieutenant; and so that Town fell into the hands of Philip. Which intelligence coming to Florence at the same time with the news of the arrival of Forces at Bologna, facilitated the resolution of War, though before there had been strong opposition, and Giovanni de Medici did publickly dissuade it; alleging that though they were certain enough of the Duke's inclinations, yet it was better to expect him, and receive his attack, than to prevent it by advancing against him; for it was the beginning of the War must justifie the prosecution; the Aggressor would be in the fault, and the other excusable to all the Princes of Italy: Neither could they demand the assistance of their Neighbours with so much confidence to invade other People as to defend themselves; nor would any body fight so chearfully to gain from others as to secure their own. To this it was answered, that the Enemy was not to be expected at home; that fortune is oftner a friend to the Invader than to the Invaded; and that, though it may be possibly more expence, yet there is less damage and detriment in making War in an Enemie's Country than in one's own.

These arguments carried it; and Orders were given to the Ten to try all ways, and turn every stone for the recovery of Furli out of the hands of the Duke. The Duke observing how serious and busie the Florentines were in retrieving a place he had undertaken to secure, sent Agnolo della Pergola with a considerable force to Imola, that the Prince having his hands full at home, might not be at leisure to think of the defence of his Grandson. Agnola

advanced with his Army near Imola, and (though the Florentines lay at Modigliana) took the Town one night by the benefit of a great Frost which had frozen the Ditches, and sent Lodovico Prisoner to Milan. The Florentines seeing Imola lost, and the War publickly owned, commanded their Army to march and besiege Furli, which being accordingly performed, that Town was immediately beleagured; and to hinder the Conjunction of the Duke's Forces to relieve it, they hired the Comte Alberigo with his Squadron from Zagonara, to keep them in perpetual alarm, and to make daily inroads to the very walls of Imola. Agnolo perceived by the strong intrenchment of our Army that Furli could not without great difficulty be relieved, so he resolved to set down before Zagonara, presuming the Florentines would not lose that place; and that if they came to relieve it, they must not only raise their Siege before Furli, but fight his Army upon great disadvantage. Hereupon the Duke Alberigo's Forces were constrained to a Parley, in which it was agreed the Town should be surrendered, if in fifteen days time it was not relieved by the Florentines. Their condition being known in the Florentine Camp, begot great disorders there, as well as in the City; and everybody desiring to wrest so great a prize out of the hands of the Enemy, their Host hastened the loss of it; for marching from Furli to the relief of Lagonaria, they came to an engagement and were utterly defeated, not so much by the valour of their Enemies as the badness of the Weather; for our Men having marched several hours thorow deep ways in perpetual rain, finding the Enemy fresh and drawn up with advantage, it was no hard matter to overcome them. Nevertheless in a Victory so famous all over Italy, it was strange, and yet true, that there died nobody of any Eminence but Lodovico Albizi and two of his Sons, who falling from their Horses, were stifled in the dirt. The news of this defeat put the whole City of Florence into a dumps, especially the Grandees, who had persuaded the War; they saw the Enemy strong and courageous; themselves without force or friends; the people incensed, railing up and down the streets, upbraiding them with the great Taxes and the impertinence of the War; girding and scoffing at them with most contumelious Expostulations, Are these they which created the Ten to terrifie the Enemy? Are these they who have relieved Furli, and rescued

it out of the hands of the Duke? See how strangely their Counsels are discovered, and the ends to which they inclined, not to defend our Liberty (which is an Enemy to them) but to increase their Power, which God in His Wisdom has most justly diminished. Nor is this the only enterprize they have pulled upon the City, but several others, and particularly that against Ladislao, which was parallel exactly. To whom will they now address for supplies? To Pope Martin? Braccio can be witness how they used him before. To Queen Giovanna? She was forced formerly to desert them, and throw herself into the Protection of the King of Arragon. Such Language as this, and whatever could be invented by an enraged People, was the common Dialect in the Streets. To prevent inconveniences, the Senate thought good to assemble several Citizens, who with gentle words should endeavour to quiet those humours which were stirred in the People. Rinaldo degli Albizi was one of them, who (being the eldest Son to Maso, and by means of his own Vertue and the Reputation of his Father, arrived at considerable esteem in the City) spake to them at large:—

He told them that it was neither Justice nor Prudence to judge Things by success, seeing many times good Counsels miscarry, and ill ones do prosper. That to commend ill Counsels upon their good success, was to encourage Errour rather than Virtue, which would turn to the great prejudice of the Publick, because they are not always unfortunate. On the other side, to condemn wise Counsels for the unhappiness of their Event, is as blameable as that; seeing thereby honest Citizens are discouraged and deterred from speaking their Judgments, though the Exigence be never so great. Then he demonstrated the necessity of the War, and how (if it had not been carried into Romagna) it would have broke out in Tuscany. He told them it had pleased God their Army should be beaten; yet their loss was not so great as it would be if the design should be abandoned; but if still they would bear up against their misfortune, and put themselves forward to the utmost of their power, they should not need to be much sensible of their Loss nor the Duke of his Victory. That they ought not to be discouraged at their Expences and Taxes, it being necessary to increase them at present, as a way to lessen them hereafter. He told them that greater supplies are more necessary in an offensive than a defensive War, and in conclusion he exhorted them:

to the imitation of their Fore-fathers, who by the manliness of their Behaviour, in all their Distresses, did always defend themselves against any adversary whatever.

Encouraged by his Authority, the Citizens entertained the Comte de Oddo, Son to Braccio, into their pay, committing him to the instruction of Nicolo Piccinino, who had been brought up under Fraccio, and was reputed the best of his Officers; to whom they joyned other Commanders of their own, and certain Horse Officers, which were remaining of the late defeat. For the raising of more Monies, they created twenty Commissioners out of the Citizens; who finding the chief Citizens low and depressed upon the late overthrow, over-laid them with Taxes and oppressed them exceedingly. These impositions disgusted them much; yet at first in the point of honour they thought it beneath them to complain of their own private usage; only they blamed the Taxes in general, and pressed to have them abated; being publickly known, it was publickly opposed, and so far neglected in the Councils, that to make them sensible how difficult a matter they had undertaken, and to render them odious to the People, order was given that the Taxes should be collected with all strictness and severity; and in case of opposition, it should be lawful for any Man to kill him who resisted an Officer. Whereupon many sad accidents ensued among the Citizens, many being wounded, and not a few slain: so that it was believed the Parties would have proceeded to Blood, and every sober Man apprehended some mischief at hand. The Grandees having been accustomed to be favoured, could not endure that strictness, and the others thought it but just to have all taxed proportionably. In these confusions, several of the prime Citizens met, and concluded to take the Government upon themselves, because their backwardness and remissness had given the multitude confidence to reprehend actions of the State, and reincouraged such as were wont to be the Heads of the People. After many Cabals, and frequent Discourses among themselves, it was proposed to meet altogether at a time, which they did above seventy of them in the Church of St. Stephano, by the connivance of Lorenzo Ridolfi de Midi and Francesco Gianfiglizzi, two of the Senate. Giovanni de Fedici was not at the meeting, either not being called (as a Person in whom they could put no confidence) or refusing to come, being contrary to his Judgment.

Rinaldo de gli Albizi made a Speech to them all. *He remonstrated to them the condition of the City; how by their negligence the Authority was relapsed to the People, which in the year* 1381 *their Fathers had taken out of their hands. He represented the iniquity of the Government from* 1377 *to the Year* 1380, *and remembered them how in that Interim many there present had had their Fathers and Relations killed. That now the dangers were the same, and the disorders no better. That the multitude had already imposed a Tax as they pleased, and would doubtless by degrees (unless greater force or better order was taken to prevent them) create Magistrates at their pleasure. Which if they should do, they would usurp their places, and ruine a State which for forty-two years together had flourished with much honour and reputation to the City; and Florence fall under the Government of the multitude (one half in perpetual luxury, and the other in fear), or else under the Tyranny of some single Person that should usurp. Wherefore he assured himself that whoever was a lover of Honour or his Country, would think himself obliged to resent it, and he put in mind of the Virtue of Bardo Mancini, who with the destruction of the Alberti rescued the City from the same dangers; and as the occasion of that boldness and incroachment of the multitude proceeded from negligence and remissness in the Magistrate, the Palace of the Senate being full of new and inferior Men, he concluded the best way to remedy it would be to do as they did then; to restore the Government to the Grandees, to clip the wings of the inferior Trades, by reducing them from fourteen to seven. By which means their authority in the Councils would be retrenched, both by the diminution of their number and the restauration of the Nobility, who upon the old score of animosity would be sure to keep them under; adding that it was great Wisdom to make use of all people, opportunity, and according to the convenience of their time: for if their Fore-fathers had done prudently to make use of the Multitude to correct the insolence of the Grandees, it would be no less discretion, now the people were grown insolent, and the Nobility under hatches, to make use of the Nobility to reduce them to their balance; which might be two ways effected, either by artifice or force: for some of them being in the Commission of Ten, it was in their power to bring what numbers they thought good into the City, and to dispose them as they pleased without any observation.*

Rinaldo was much applauded, his Counsel by every Body approved; and Urano among the rest, returned this Answer:

That indeed all that had been said by Rinaldo was true, his remedies good and secure, when applyable without manifest division of the City; and that might be done exactly if Giovanni de Medici could be drawn to their party; if he were separated from them, the people might rise, but could do nothing for want of a head; but whilst he was firm to them, nothing was to be done without force, and if they should betake themselves to that, he could not but foresee a double danger, either of not gaining the Victory, or not injoying it when it was got. He modestly remembered them of his former advices, and how they had neglected to prevent these difficulties in time, which might easily have been done; but that now he thought it unpracticable, unless some way could be found to gain Giovanni to their party.

Hereupon Rinaldo was deputed to attend Giovanni, and try what might be done. He waited upon him, and pressed him with all the arguments he could use to joyn with them, and that he would not, by favouring and indulging the People, make them insolent and saucy to the ruine both of the City and Government. To which Giovanni replyed:

That it was the Office of a wise and good Citizen (at least in his judgment) to preserve the ancient Laws and Customs of a City, nothing being more injurious than those alterations; that many being offended, it must necessarily follow many must be discontented, and where many are so, some ill accident or other is daily to be expected. That, in his opinion, this resolution of theirs would be subject to two most pernicious effects.

The first by conferring honours upon them who, having borne none of them before, would understand less how to value them, and by consequence complain less for the want of them. The other, in taking them away from those who have been accustomed to them, and would assuredly never be quiet till they be restored to them again. So that the injury to one party will be greater than the benefit to the other, the Author of the change gains fewer Friends than Enemies, and the latter be much more industrious to do him a mischief than the former to defend him, Men being naturally more prone to revenge than gratitude; loss (for the most part) being in the one, but profit or pleasure always in the other. Then, turning about to Rinaldo,

he said, *And you, Sir, if you would recollect what has passed, and with what cunning and subtility things have been formerly transacted in this City, you would be cooler and less hasty in this resolution; for whoever advised it, as soon as with your power he has divested the People of their Authority, he will usurp upon you, and become your Enemy by the same means you intend to oblige him. Nor will it fall out better to you than it did to Benedetto Alberto, who by the persuasions of those who did not love him, consented to the ruine of Giorgio Scali and Tomaso Strozzi, and not long after was himself banished by the same Persons which inveigled him: he advised him therefore to consider more seriously of the business, and rather than to proceed, to follow the example of his Father, who to ingratiate with the people, abated the Excise upon Salt; procured, that whosoever's Taxes was half a Florin or under should pay it if they pleased, otherwise it should never be levied; prevailed, that the day the Councils assembled should be privileged, and all Persons for that time protected from their Creditors; and at last concluded, that for his own part he was resolved to acquiesce in the Government as it stood then, and to leave the City as he found it.*

These transactions being talked of abroad, procured much reputation to Giovanni, but more hatred to the other Citizens, whose conversation he declined what he could, to give the less encouragement to those who designed new troubles, under his familiarity and favour; declaring to everybody he discoursed withal about it, that in his judgment factions were rather to be extinguished than fomented at that time; and that as to himself, he desired nothing more cordially than love and unanimity in the City, though several of his own party were dissatisfied with him, and had advised him to be more stirring and active in the business. Among the rest Alamanno de' Medici was one, who being naturally furious, egged him on to take this opportunity of revenging himself upon his enemies and obliging his friends; reproaching him by the coldness of his proceedings, which (as he told him) gave his enemies occasion to practise against him, without fear or respect; which practices (it was to be doubted) would succeed one time or other, and be the destruction both of his family and friends. Cosimo, his son, importuned him to the same; but Giovanni, neither for what had been revealed nor prognosticated, could be moved from his resolution; however, the

faction appeared plain enough, and the whole City was most manifestly divided. There were at that time attending the Senate in the Palace two Chancellors, Martino and Pagolo. The latter was a favourer of Uzano, the former of the Medici. Rinaldo, finding Giovanni inexorable, and not to be wrought over to them, contrived to turn Martino out of his office, presuming after that the Senate would be more inclinable to them. Which design being smelt by the Adversary, Martino was not only continued in his Place, but Pagolo turned out, to the great detriment and dissatisfaction of his party; and doubtless the effects would have been dreadful had not the War lain so heavy upon them, and the late defeat at Zagonara put the City into such confusion.

For whilst these things were agitated in Florence, Agnolo della Pergola with the Duke's Troops had taken all the Towns which the Florentines held in Romagna (except Castracaro and Modigliana), some for want of due fortification, and some for want of courage or fidelity in the Garrisons. In the acquisition of these Towns two things happened which demonstrate how grateful valour is, even to an Enemy, and how much cowardice and pusillanimity is despised. Biagio del Milano was Captain of the Castle called Montepetroso, which being not only besieged, but set on fire by the Enemy, looking over the walls, and finding no way to escape, or preserve the Castle, he caused straw and bedding, and what other cloaths he had, to be thrown over the walls, where he saw the fire was not yet come, and then letting down two of his Children upon them, he cried out to the Enemy,

Here, take such moveables as God and my fortune have given me; 'tis in your power to force them, and not in mine to preserve them; but for the treasure of my mind, in which my glory and honour consists, you cannot ravish that from me, and I will never surrender it.

The Enemy, amazed at his gallantry, ran presently to save the Children, and presented him Ropes and Ladders to have preserved himself; but he refused them, and chose rather to die in the flames than to be saved by the Enemies of his Country. An example worthy of the commendation of Antiquity, and the more remarkable by how much few of them are to be found. The Children were restored to whatever could be preserved, and sent home by the Enemy (with singular generosity) to their Relations, who received them not with more joy than they were entertained

by the State, which for their Fathers' and their own sakes, kept them at the publick charge during their lives.

The other happened in Galeata, where Zenobi del Pino was Podesta, who without any defence at all, delivered up his Castle to the Enemy, and afterwards persuaded Agnolo to quit the Alps in Romagna, and betake himself to the hills in Tuscany, where he might spin out the War with more advantage, and less danger to himself. Agnolo, not able to brook such meanness and baseness of his Spirit, delivered him over to his servants to dispose of him as they pleased, who after millions of affronts and derisions, allowed him nothing but painted cards for his diet, declaring they intended of a Guelf to make him a Ghibilin that way; but whatever they intended, in a short time he was starved to Death.

In the meantime Conte Oddo, with Nicolo Piccinino, were entered into the Valdi Lamona, to see if they could reduce the State of Faenza to an amity with the Florentines, or at the least hinder Agnolo della Pergola from making his incursions so freely into the territory of Romagna. But the vale being very strong, and the inhabitants martial, Conte Oddo was slain and Piccinino carried Prisoner to Faenza. However, as it fell out, the Florentines obtained by this loss what they would have hardly gained by the victory; for Nicolo Piccinino transacted so well with the Governour of Faenza and his mother, that by his persuasion they became friends to the Florentines, and entered into a League with them, by which he was released. But Piccinino followed not that Counsel which he had given to others; for either being debauched by the Towns he passed thorow, or looking upon the conditions of the Florentines to be but low, and his own to be bettered in another place, he departed abruptly from Arrezzo, where his post was, and stealing away into Lombardy, he took up Arms under that Duke. The Florentines, weakened by these accidents and disheartened by the expence of the War, concluded they were unable to carry it on upon their own private account; hereupon they sent Ambassadors to the Venetians to desire their assistance (which they might easily and effectually grant) against the growing greatness of a Person who, if let alone, would be as dangerous and destructive to them as to the Florentines. Francesco Carmignuola persuaded them likewise to the same enterprize, who was an excellent Soldier as any in those

times, had served formerly under the Duke: but then he was revolted from him, and come over to the Venetian. The Venetian was uncertain what to determine, not daring to be too confident of Carmignuola, because not sure whether his animosity to the Duke was real or pretended. Whilst they remained in this suspence, the Duke found a way, by corrupting one of his Servants, to cause him to be poisoned; but the poison being too weak, did not kill him outright, but brought him to great extremity. The Venetians having notice of this, laid their suspicion aside; and the Florentines continuing their sollicitations, they entered into League with them, by which it was agreed the War should be prosecuted by both parties, at the common expence; that whatever should be taken in Lombardy should be delivered to the Venetians, and whatever in Romagna and Tuscany, should be put into the hands of the Florentines; and Carmignuola was made General of the League.

By means of this alliance the War was transferred into Lombardy, where it was managed by Carmignuola with that discretion and courage, that in a few months' time he took several Towns from the Duke, and Brescia among the rest; which last in those times, and according to the method of those Wars, was accounted a miracle. This War continued five years, and the Citizens of Florence were much impoverished by the Taxes, which had been continued so long. Hereupon a regulation was agreed upon, and (that all people might be charged according to their Estates) it was proposed the personal Estate should be chargeable as well as the real, and that whoever had to the value of a hundred Florins in goods should pay half a proportion. But there being Law and Authority to levy this Tax, but not men enough to compel them, the Grandees were disgusted, and opposed it before it was perfectly concluded: only Giovanni de' Medici promoted it so vigorously, that he carried it against them all. And because in the Books of assessment every man's goods were rated (which the Florentines call Accatastare), this imposition was called Catasto. Moreover, this Law restrained the Tyranny of the Nobles, not permitting them to strike or terrifie such as were inferior to them in the Councils, as formerly they had presumed. This Tax, therefore, though accepted chearfully enough by the Commons, went much against the minds of the Nobility. But

it being in the nature of man never to be satisfied, and as soon as possessed of what with great vehemence he desired, to wish as fiercely for another, the people, not content with the proportions set them by the Law, demanded a retrospection, and that it might be considered how much the Nobility had paid less in times past than was now allotted them by the Catasto, and that they might be forced to pay it for the reimbursement of such as had sold their Estates to enable them to pay their Taxes before. This proportion affrighted the Grandees much more than the Catasto: so that to defend themselves against both, they decried the Catasto as unjust and unequal, in laying a duty upon goods and household stuff (which are here to-day and lost to-morrow), and exempting money, which many people kept privately in their hands, so as the Catasto could not discover it. To which they added, that it was not but reasonable those Persons who relinquished or neglected their own private affairs for the better management of the publick should be favoured in the Taxes; for devoting their whole labour to the benefit of the State, there was no justice nor equity in the world, that the City should have the profits of their Industry and Estate, and from others receive only the contribution of their Estates. Those who were for the Catasto replied, that as their goods varied, the Taxes might be varied too; and to any inconvenience from that a remedy might be found. As to the money concealed, that was not to be considered, for making no profit of it, there was no reason it should be paid for; and whenever they employed it, it would be sure to be discovered. For the pains they took, and their solicitude for their Country, if it were troublesome to them, they might have liberty to retire, for there was no doubt but some well-affected Citizens would be found who would not repine to serve the City both with their Counsel and Estates: and that there were so many honours, and other perquisites attending those great Offices, as might suffice any reasonable Persons, without abatement of their Taxes. But their great discontent was from another cause; the Nobility were offended that they could not make War at other people's charge, as they were used to do formerly, but were obliged to bear their share as well as their Neighbours. Had this way been found out before, there would have been no War with King Ladislao then, nor with Duke Philip now; both which

Wars were undertaken to fill the coffers of some particular Citizens, more than for any necessity: but this commotion of humours was appeased by Giovanni de' Medici, who convinced the people it was not convenient to look backward; that their business now was to provide carefully for the future, and if the former impositions had been unequal and unjust, they were to thank God a way was found to relieve them, and not make that a means to divide what was intended to unite the City, as it would certainly do if the old assessments and the new were adjusted; for it was better to be contented with half a victory than to venture all for an absolute; many instances making it out, that where more has been strived for, all has been lost. With these and such-like discourses he pacified the people, and the design of retrospection was quite laid aside.

However, the War with the Duke being carried on for a while, a peace at length was concluded at Ferrara by the mediation of a Legate from the Pope. But the Duke not observing the conditions at first, the League took Arms again, and coming to an engagement with his Army at Maclovio, they defeated him quite, and forced the Duke to new propositions, which were accepted by the League: by the Florentines, because they were grown jealous of the Venetian, and sensible that the vast charge which their City was at, was to make others more powerful than themselves: by the Venetians, because they observed Carmignuola, after the Duke was overthrown, to advance but slowly, and make little or no advantage of his victory, so as they could not place any further confidence in him. In this manner the Peace was concluded in the year 1428, by which the Florentines were restored to what they had lost in Romagna; the Venetians had Brescia, and the Duke gave them Bergamo, and the Territory belonging to it, over and above. This War cost the Florentines three millions and five thousand Ducats, the success of which was, Grandeur and Authority to the Venetian, but Poverty and Dissention to themselves. Peace being concluded abroad, the War was transplanted, and broke out at home. The Grandees of the City could not digest the Catasto; and not seeing any way of suppressing it, they contrived ways of incensing the people against it, that they might have more Companions to oppose it. They remonstrated therefore to the Officers for collection, that they

were to Search and Catastat the goods of the neighbouring Towns, lest any of the Florentine goods should be conveyed thither. Whereupon all that were Subjects to that City were required to bring in Inventories of their goods within a certain time. But the Volterrani complaining to the Senate, incensed the Officers so highly, they put eighteen of them in Prison. This action provoked the Volterrani exceedingly, but the regard they had for their Prisoners kept them at present from any commotion.

About this time Giovanni de' Medici fell Sick, and finding his Sickness to be mortal, he called his Sons Cosimo and Lorenzo to him, and said:—

I suppose the time that God and Nature allotted me at my Birth is now expired; I die contented, leaving you rich, and healthful, and honourable (if you follow my footsteps and instruction); and indeed nothing makes my Death so easie and quiet to me, as the thought that I have been so far from injuring or disobliging any Person, that I have done them all the good offices I was able; and the same course I recommend to you. For matter of Office and Government (if you would live happy and secure) my advice is, you accept what the Laws and the People conferr upon you; that will create you neither envy nor danger; for 'tis not what is given that makes men odious, but what is usurped; and you shall always find greater number of those who, incroaching upon other people's interest, ruine their own at last, and in the meantime live in perpetual disquiet. With these arts, among so many factions and enemies, I have not only preserved but augmented my reputation in this City; if you follow my example, you may maintain and increase yours. But if neither my example nor persuasion can keep you from other ways, your ends will be no happier than several others who in my memory have destroyed both themselves and their Families.

Not long after he died, and was infinitely lamented by the greatest part of the City, as indeed his good qualities deserved: for he was charitable to the height; not only relieving such as he asked, but preventing the modesty of such as he thought poor, and supplying them without it. He loved all People: the good he commended; the bad he commiserated. He sought no Office, and went through them all. He never went to the Palace but invited. He was a lover of Peace, and an Enemy to War. He relieved those who were in adversity, and those who

were in prosperity he assisted. He was no friend to publick Extortion, and yet a great augmenter of Common Stock; courteous in all his Employments; not very eloquent, but solid and judicious. His Complexion appeared melancholy, but in company he was pleasant and facetious. He died rich, especially in Love and Reputation; and the inheritance of all descended upon his Son Cosimo.

The Volterrani were weary of their imprisonment, and to recover their liberties, promised to condescend to what was required. Being discharged, and returned to Volterra, the time for the new Priori's entrance into the Magistracy arrived, and one Giusto (a Plebeian, but a Man of good interest among them) was chosen in the place. Having been one of those who were imprisoned at Florence, he had conceived a mortal hatred against the Florentines, and it was increased by the instigation of one Giovanni (a Person of Noble extraction), who being in Authority with him at the same time, persuaded him, that by the authority of the Priori, and his own interest, he would stir up the People to rescue themselves from their dependence upon Florence, and afterwards make himself Prince. Upon this encouragement Giusto took Arms; possessed himself of the Town; imprisoned the Florentine Governor, and, by consent of the people, made himself Lord. The news of these revolutions in Volterra was not at all pleasing to the Florentines; but their peace being made with the Duke, and their Articles signed, they thought they had leisure enough to recover that Town; and to lose no time, they made Rinaldo degli Albizi and Palla Strozzi Commissioners, and sent them thither out of hand. Giusto suspecting the Florentines would assault him, sent to Sienna and Lucca for relief. The Siennesi refused him, alledging they were in League with the Florentine: and Pagolo Guinigi (who was then Lord of Lucca), to reingratiate with the people of Florence (whose favour he had lost in their Wars with the Duke), not only denyed his assistance to Giusto, but sent his Embassador Prisoner to Florence. The Commissioners to surprize the Volterrani before they were aware, assembled what strength they had of their own, raised what Foot they could in the lower Val d' Arno and the territory of Pisa, and marched towards Volterra. Giusto, discouraged neither by the desertion of his Neighbours nor the approach of the Enemy, relied upon the situation and strength of the Town,

and prepared for his defence. There was at that time in Volterra one Arcolano (a Brother of that Giovanni who had persuaded Giusto to take the Government upon him), a Person of good credit among the Nobility. This Arcolano having got several of his Confidants together, he remonstrated to them how God Almighty by this accident had relieved the necessities of their City; for if they would take Arms with him, remove Giusto from the Government, and deliver all up to the Florentines, they should not only have their old Priviledges confirmed, but be themselves made the chief Officers of the Town. Having consented to the design, they repaired immediately to the Palace where Giusto resided; and leaving the rest below, Arcolano with three more went up into the Dining-room, where they found him with other Citizens: they pretended to speak with him about business of importance, and having (in the variety of their discourse) drilled him to another Chamber, Arcolano, and his accomplices fell upon him with their Swords: but they were not so nimble but Giusto had the opportunity to draw his and wound two of them before he fell himself; yet his destiny being unavoidable, he was killed, and thrown into the Palace-yard. Whereupon those who were Confederate with Arcolano taking Arms, they delivered up the Town to the Florentine Commissioners, who were not far off with their Army. The Commissioners marched directly into the Town, without any Capitulation, so that then the condition of the Volterrani was worse than before; for among other things, a great part of their Country was dismembred, and the Town itself reduced to a Vicariata. Volterra being in this manner lost, and recovered at the same time, there had been no danger of new War, had not the ambition of some Men pulled it down upon their heads. There was a person who for a long time had served the Florentines in their Wars against the Duke; his name was Nicolo Fortebraccio, Son of a Sister of Braccio de Perugia. This Nicolo was disbanded upon the Peace, and at the time of these accidents at Volterra had his quarters at Fucecchio, so that the Commissioners made use of him and his Soldiers in that enterprize. It was believed, that whilst Rinaldo was engaged with him in that War, he had persuaded Nicolo, upon some pretended quarrel, to fall upon the Lucchesi; assuring him that if he did, he would order Things so in Florence,

that an Army should be sent against Lucca, and he have the command of it. Volterra being reduced, and Nicolo returned to his old Post at Fucecchio, either upon Rinaldo's instigation or his own private inclination, in November 1429, with 300 Horse and 300 Foot, he surprized Ruoti and Compito, two Castles belonging to the Lucchesi; and afterwards falling down into the Plain, he made great depredation. The news being brought to Florence, the whole Town was in uproar, and the greatest part was for an expedition against Lucca. Of the chief Citizens which favoured the Enterprize, there were all the Medici and Rinaldo, who was prompted thereto either out of an opinion it would be for the advantage of that Common-wealth, or out of an ambition to be made Head of it himself. Those who opposed it were Nicolo da Uzano and his party. And it seems an incredible thing that in one City, upon one occasion, there should be such contrariety of Judgments. For the same People who after ten years' Peace opposed the War against Duke Philip (which was undertaken in defence of their Liberties), the same Persons now, after such vast Expence and so many Calamities as their City had undergone, pressed and importuned for a War with the Lucchesi, to disturb the Liberties of other People. And on the other side, those who were for the War then, resisted it now: So strangely does time alter the Judgments of Men; so much more prone are People to invade their Neighbours than to secure themselves, and so much more ready are they to conceive hopes of gaining upon others than to apprehend any danger of losing their own. For dangers are not believed till they be over their heads; but hopes are entertained though at never so great distance. The People of Florence were full of hopes upon intelligence of what Nicolo Fertebraccio had done and did still do, and upon certain Letters which they received from their Rettori upon the Confines of Lucca. For their Deputies in Pescia and Vico writ them word that if they might have liberty to receive such Castles and Towns as would be delivered up to them, they should be Masters of the greatest part of the Territory of Lucca: and it contributed not a little to their encouragement, that at the same time they received an Embassie from the Senate of Lucca, to complain of Nicolo's invasion, and to beg of the Senate that they would not make War upon a neighbour City, which had preserved a con-

stant amity with them. The Embassador's name was Jacopo Vicciani, who had been Prisoner not long before to Pagolo Guinigi, Lord of Lucca, for a Conspiracy against him, and (though found guilty) had been pardoned for his Life. Supposing he would have as easily have forgiven his imprisonment as Pagolo had done his Offence, he imployed him in this Embassie, and sent him to Florence. But Jacopo being more mindful of the danger he had escaped than the benefit he had received, encouraged the Florentines to the Enterprize; which Encouragement added to the hopes they had conceived before, and caused them to call a General Council (in which 498 Citizens appeared), before whom the whole project was more particularly debated.

Among the principal Promoters of the Expedition (as I said before) Rinaldo was one, who represented to them the great Advantage that would accrue to them by the taking of that Town. He insisted upon the Convenience of the Time, as being abandoned by the Venetian and the Duke, and not capable of Relief from the Pope, who had his Hands full another way. To which he added the easiness of the Enterprize, the Government having been usurped by one of its own Citizens, and by that means lost much of its natural Vigour and ancient disposition to defend its Liberties; so that it was more than probable, either the People would deliver it up, in opposition to the Tyrant, or the Tyrant surrender for fear of the People. He exaggerated the Injuries that Governour had done to their State, the ill Inclination he still retained towards them, and the Dangers which would ensue if the Pope or Duke should make War upon it; concluding that no Enterprize was ever undertaken by the State of Florence more easie, more profitable, or more just.

In opposition to this, it was urged by Uzano, that the City of Florence never undertook any War with more injustice or hazard, nor any that was more like to produce sad and pernicious Effects. That first, they were to invade a City of the Guelfish Faction, which had been always a Friend to the City of Florence; and to its own danger and prejudice many times received the Guelfs into its bosom, when they were banished, or unsafe in their own Country. That in all the Chronicles of our Affairs, it was not to be found that City had ever offended Florence whilst it was free; and if at any time since its subjection it had transgressed (as indeed it had during the Government of Castruccio and under this present Lord), it was

but reasonable to lay the Saddle upon the right Horse, and to impute the fault rather to their Tyrants than Town. If War could be made against the Tyrant without detriment to the City, well and good; the injustice would be the less. But that being impossible, he could never consent that a City of so ancient amity and alliance should be ruined for nothing. However, because Men lived then at such a rate, that no account was made of what was just and unjust, he would waive so trifling an Argument, and proceed to the profit and emolument of that War, which was the thing nowadays most seriously considered; did believe those Things were most properly called profitable which carried least damage along with them; but how that Expedition could with any equity be called profitable he could not understand, seeing the damage was certain and the benefit but contingent. The certainty of the damage consisted in the vastness of the Expence, which must of necessity be great enough to discourage a City that was quiet and at peace, much more one that had been already harassed out with a tedious and a chargeable War, as their City had been. The advantages proposed were the taking of Lucca, which he confessed would be considerable. Yet the accidents and impediments with which they might meet were so far from being to be slighted, that to him they seemed numerous and insuperable, and the whole Enterprize impossible. Nor ought they to presume that either the Venetian or the Duke would be content that they should conquer it; for though the Venetian seemed to comply, it was but in gratitude to the Florentines, at whose charges they had so largely extended their Empire, and the other was only cautious of engaging in a new War and needs unexpence, and attended till they were tired and exhausted, that he might fall upon them with advantage. He minded them likewise, that in the middle of their Enterprize, and in the highest hopes of their Victory, the Duke would not want means to relieve the Lucchesi, either by supplying them with Money under-hand, or if that would not do, by disbanding his Men, and sending them as Soldiers of Fortune to take Pay under them. Upon these Reasons he persuaded them to give over that design, and to live so with that Usurper as to create him what Enemies they could; for he knew no way so ready to subdue the Town as to leave it to his Tyranny, and let him alone to afflict and weaken it as he pleased. So that if the business was managed as it should be, that City might quickly be brought to such terms,

that the Usurper, not knowing how to hold it, and the City as unable to govern itself, would be constrained to throw itself voluntarily under their Protection. Nevertheless, seeing their eagerness was such that his Reasons could not be heard, he would undertake to prognosticate that the War which they were about should cost them much Money, expose them to many dangers at home, and instead of taking Lucca, and keeping it to themselves, they should deliver it from an Usurper, and of a poor, servile, but friendly City, make it free, and malicious, and such as in time would grow to be a great Obstacle to the greatness of Florence.

This Enterprize being thus canvassed on both sides, it came (privately and according to custom) to the Votes of the whole Convention, and of the whole Number, only 98 were against it. Resolution being taken, and the ten Men created for the carrying on of the War, they raised Men with all speed, both Infantry and Horse. For Commissaries, they deputed Astorre Gianni and Rinaldo degli Albizi, and made an Agreement with Nicolo Fortebraccio that he should deliver what towns he had taken into their Hands, and take Pay under them. The Commissaries being arrived with their Army in the Country of Lucca, they divided, Astorre extending himself upon the Plain towards Camaggiore and Pietra Santa, and Rinaldo with his Squadron marching towards the Mountains, presuming that if they cut off its intercourse with the Country, it would be no hard matter to become Masters of the Town. But both their Designs were unhappy; not but that they took several Castles and Towns, but be*wore* of sundry Imprudences committed in the management of the *hui*; both by the one and the other. Astorre Gianni gave particular Evidence of his Indiscretion in the Passage which follows. Not far from Pietra Santa there is a Vale called Seraveza, rich, and full of Inhabitants; who understanding the approach of that Commissary, went out to meet him, and to desire that he would receive and protect them as faithful Servants to the People of Florence. Astorre pretended to accept their offer, but afterwards he caused his Soldiers to seize upon all the strong Places and Passes in the Vale; and assembling all the Inhabitants in their principal Church, he kept them Prisoners, and commanded his Men to plunder and destroy the whole Country; after a most cruel and barbarous way, prophaning the Churches and Religious Houses, and abusing the Women, as well Virgins as others.

These Passages being known in Florence, offended not only the Magistrates, but the whole City. Some of the Seravezi, who had escaped the hands of the Commissary, fled directly to Florence, telling the sadness of their Condition to all Persons they met with; and being encouraged by several who were desirous to have Astorre punished, either as an evil Man or as an Adversary to their Faction, they addressed themselves to the Ten, and desired to be heard; and being introduced, one of them stepped forth and spake to this purpose:—

We are assured, most magnificent Lords, our Words would not only find Belief, but Compassion among you, did you but know in what manner your Commissary first seized upon our Country, and afterwards upon us. Our Vale (as 'tis likely your Chronicles may remember you) was always of the Guelfish party, and many times a faithful Receptacle for such of your Citizens as by the persecution of the Ghibilins were not suffered at home. Our Ancestors and we have always adored the very name of this illustrious Republick, and esteemed it as the head and principal Member of that Party. Whilst Lucca was Guelfish, we submitted very quietly to their Commands; but since it fell under the dominion of an Usurper who has relinquished its old Friends and joyned himself with the Ghibilins, we have obeyed him, 'tis true, but rather by force than by consent: and God knows how often we have begged for an opportunity to express our Affection to our old Friends. But how blind and deceitful are the desires of Man! That which we prayed for, as our only Felicity, is become our Destruction. As soon as we heard your Ensigns were marching towards us, supposing them not our Enemies, but our ancient Lords and Friends, we went immediately to wait upon your Commissary, and committed our Valley, our Fortunes, and ourselves into his Hands, relying wholly upon his Generosity, and presuming he had the Soul, if not of a Florentine at least of a Man. Pardon, I beseech you, my freedom; we have suffered so much already, nothing can be worse, and that gives me this Confidence.

Your General has nothing of a Man but his Person, nor of a Florentine but his Name. He is a mortal Disease, a savage Beast, and as horrid a Monster as ever any Author ever described. For having wheeled us together into our Cathedral, under pretence of discoursing some Things with us, he made us his Prisoners: ruined

and burned our Valley; robbed, and spoiled, and sacked, and beat, and murdered the Inhabitants: the Women he ravished, the Virgins he forced, tearing them out of the arms of their Parents, and throwing them as a prey to his Soldiers. Had we provoked him by any injury either to his Country or himself, we should have been so far from complaining, we should have condemned ourselves, and esteemed it no more than what our own insolence and unworthiness had pulled upon our Heads. But having put ourselves freely into his power, without Arms or any other capacity of resistance, to be then robbed and abused, with so much injury and insolence, is beyond human patience, and we cannot but resent it. And though we might make all Lombardy ring with the sadness of our complaints, and with imputation, and scandal to this City, diffuse the story of our Sufferings all over Italy, we have waived and declined it, thinking it unjust to asperse so Noble, so Charitable a Commonwealth with the cruelty and dishonour of a barbarous Citizen, whose insatiable Avarice had we known, or could have but suspected, before we had tryed it, we would have strained and forced ourselves to have gorged it (though indeed it has neither bounds nor bottom), and by that means (if possible) preserved part of our Estates, by sacrificing the rest. But that being too late, we have addressed ourselves most humbly to your Lordships, begging that ye should relieve the infelicity of your Subjects, that other People may not (by our President) be terrifyed or discouraged from committing themselves under your Empire and Dominion. If the infinite and unsupportable Injuries we have suffered be too weak or few to procure your Compassion, yet let the fear of God's Displeasure prevail, whose Temples have been plundered and burned, and his People betrayed in the very Bowels of His Churches.

And having said thus, they threw themselves before them upon the Ground, yelling, and imploring that they might be repossessed of their Estates and their Country, and that their Lordships would take care (seeing their Reputation was irrecoverable) that at least the Wives might be restored to their Husbands, and the Children to their Parents. The cruelty and inhumanity of his Behaviour having been understood before, and now particularly related by the Sufferers themselves, wrought so highly upon the Magistrates, that immediately they commanded Astorre back from the Army, cashiered him, and made him afterwards incapable of any Command. They caused Inquisition likewise to be made

after the Goods of the Saravezesi: such as were found were restored; what could not be found was reprised afterwards by the City, as opportunity was offered.

Rinaldo degli Albizi was accused on the other side for managing the War not so much for the publick profit of his Country as for his own; it was objected against him, that from the very hour of his Commission he laid aside all thoughts of reducing Lucca, and designed no farther than to plunder the Country, to fill his own Pastures with other People's Cattle, and furnish his own Houses with other People's Goods; that his own Booty and his Officers being too little to satisfie him, he bartered and bought the Plunder of his common Soldiers, and, of a General, made himself a Merchant. These Calumniations being come to his Ears, nettled his honest but haughty Mind, more perhaps than a wise Man would have suffered them to do. However, they disturbed him so, that in a Rage both against Magistrate and City, without expecting or so much as desiring leave, he returned upon the spur to Florence, presented himself before the Ten, and told them :—

That he now found how difficult and dangerous it was to serve an unconstant People and a divided City: the one entertained all Reports and believed them; the other punished what was amiss, condemned what was uncertain, but rewarded nothing that was done well. So that if you overcome, nobody thanks you; if you mistake, everybody blames you; if you miscarry, everybody reproaches you; either your Friends persecute you for Emulation, or your Enemies for Malice. However, for his part he had never, for fear of Scandal or Imputation, omitted anything which he judged might be of certain Advantage to his Country. But that now indeed the baseness of the Calumnies under which at present he lay had mastered his Patience and changed his whole Nature. Wherefore he begged the Magistrates would for the future be more ready to justifie their Officers, that they might act with more Alacrity for the good of their Country; and that, seeing in Florence no triumph was to be expected, they at least would concern themselves so far as to secure them from Obloquy. He admonished them likewise to reflect that they themselves were Officers of the same City, and by consequence every Hour liable to such Slanders as may give them to understand how great Trouble and Disquiet honest Men conceive at such false Accusations.

The Ten endeavoured to pacifie him as much as the Time would

allow, but transferred his Command upon Neri di Gino and Alamanno Salviati, who instead of rambling and harassing the Country, advanced with their Army and blocked up the Town. The Season being cold, the Army was lodged at Capanole; the new Generals, thinking the Time long, had a mind to be nearer and encamp before the Town; but the Soldiers objected the ill Weather, and would not consent, though the Ten sent them positive Orders to that purpose, and would not hear of Excuse.

There was at that time Resident in Florence a most excellent Architect, called Philip, the Son of Brunellesco, of whose Workmanship this City is so full, that after his Death he deserved to have his Statue set up in Marble in the principal Church of the Town, with an Inscription under it, to testifie his great Excellence to the Reader. This Philip, upon consideration of the banks of the River Serchio and the situation of the Town, had found out a way to drown it. This invention he imparted to the Ten, and so convinced them, that by their order experiment was to be made, which was done; but it turned more to the prejudice of our Camp than to the detriment of the Town. For the Lucchesi perceiving the design, heightened and strengthened their banks on that part where the River was to over-flow, and afterwards taking their opportunity one night, they brake down the Sluice which was made to turn the Water upon them; so that their banks being firm and high, and the banks towards the Plain open, it overflowed their Camp, and forced them to remove. This design miscarrying, the Ten called home their Commissioners, and sent Giovanni Guicciardini to command the Army in their stead, who clapped down before the Town, and straitened it immediately. Finding himself distressed, the Governor of the Town, upon the encouragement of Antonio del Rosso, a Siennese (who was with him as Resident from the Town of Sienna), sent Salvestro Trenta and Lodovico Bonvisi to the Duke of Milan, to desire he would relieve him. Finding him cold in the business, they entreated him privately that he would at least send them supplies, and promised him from the People that as soon as they were arrived, they would deliver both Lord and Town into their hands; assuring him that if this resolution were not suddenly taken, their Lord would surrender it to the Florentines, who had tempted him with several fair proffers. The fear of that made the Duke lay aside all other

respects; wherefore he caused the Conte Francesco Sforza, his General, publickly to desire leave to march with his forces into the Kingdom of Naples; and having obtained it, he went with his Troops to Lucca, notwithstanding the Florentines, upon notice of his transaction, sent to the Conte Boccaccinor Almanni, their friend, to prevent it. Francesco having forced his passage into the Town, the Florentines drew off to Librafatta, and the Conte marched out, and sat down before Pescia, where Pagolo da Diaccetto was Governor, and in great fear ran away to Pistoia. Had not the Town been better defended by Giovanni Malavolti than by him, it had been most dishonourably lost. The Conte, not able to carry it at the first assault, drew off to Buggiano, took that and Stilano, a Castle not far off, and burned both of them to the ground. The Florentines, displeased with this devastation, applyed themselves to a remedy which had often preserved them; and knowing that Soldiers of Fortune are easier corrupted than beaten, they caused a considerable Sum to be proffered to the Conte, not only to depart, but to deliver them the Town. The Conte perceiving no Man was to be squeezed out of that City, accepted the Proposition in part; but not thinking it convenient in point of honour to put them in possession of the Town, he articled to draw away his Army upon the payment of 50,000 Ducats. This agreement being made, that the People of Lucca might excuse him to the Duke, he seized upon their Governour, which they had promised to depose. Antonio del Rosso (the Sienna Embassador) was at that time in Lucca, as we said before. This Antonio, by the Authority of the Conte, meditated the destruction of Pagolo. The heads of the Conspiracy were Pietro Cennami and Giovanni da Chivizano.

The Conte was quartered out of the Town, upon the Banks of the Serchio, and with him the Governour's Son. The Conspirators, about forty in number, went in the night to find out Pagolo, who hearing of their intention, came forth in great fear to meet them and inquire the occasion. To whom Cennami made answer, That they had been too long governed by him; that the Enemy was now about their walls, and they brought into a necessity of dying either by Famine or the Sword; that for the future they were resolved to take the Government into their own hands, and therefore they demanded that the Treasure and the Keys of

the City might be delivered to them. Pagolo replied, That the Treasure was consumed, but both the Keys and himself were at their service; only he had one request to make to them, that as his Government had begun and continued without blood, so there might be none spilt at its conclusion. Hereupon Pagolo and his Son were delivered up to the Conte Francesco, who presented them to the Duke, and both of them died afterwards in Prison.

This departure of the Conte, having freed the Lucchesi from the Tyranny of their Governour, and the Florentine from the fear of his Army, both sides fell again to their preparations; the one to beleaguer, and the other to defend. The Florentines made the Conte Urbino their General, who begirt the Town so close, the Lucchesi were constrained once more to desire the assistance of the Duke, who, under the same pretence as he had formerly sent the Conte, sent Nicolo Piccinino to relieve them. Piccinino advancing with his Troops to enter the Town, the Florentines opposing his passage over the River, the Florentines were defeated after a sharp engagement, and the General with very few of his Forces, preserved themselves at Pisa. This Disaster put the whole City in great Consternation; and because the Enterprize had been undertaken upon the People's account, not knowing where else to direct their Complaints, they laid the fault upon the Officers and Managers, seeing they could not fix it upon the Contrivers of the War, and revived their old Articles against Rinaldo. But the greatest part of their Indignation fell upon Giovanni Guicciardini, charging him that it was in his power to have put an end to the War after Conte Francesco was departed, but that he had been corrupted by their Money, part of which had been remitted to his own House by Bills of Exchange, and part he had received himself, and carried it with him. These Reports and Rumours went so high, that the Captain of the People, moved by them and the importunity of the contrary Party, summoned him before him. Giovanni appeared, but full of Indignation; whereupon his Relations interposed, and to their great Honour, prevailed so far with the Captain, that the process was laid aside. The Lucchesi upon this Victory not only recovered their own Towns, but overran and possessed themselves of the whole Territory of Pisa, except Biantina, Calcinaia, Livorno, and Librafatta; and (had not a Conspiracy been accidentally discovered in Pisa) that City had been

lost among the rest. The Florentines, however, recruited their Army, and sent it out under the command of Micheletto, who had been bred up a Soldier under Sforza.

The Duke having obtained the Victory, to overlay the Florentines with multitude of Enemies, procured a League betwixt the Genovesi, Sanisi, and the Lord of Piombino, for the defence of Lucca, and that Piccinino should be their General; which thing alone was the discovery of the Plot. Hereupon the Venetians and Florentines renew their League, open Hostilities are committed both in Lombardy and Tuscany, and many Skirmishes and Rencounters happen with various Fortune on both sides; till at length everybody being tired, a general Peace was concluded betwixt all Parties in the month of May 1433, by which it was agreed that the Florentines, Siennesi, Lucchesi, and whoever else during that War had taken any Towns and Castles from their Enemies, should restore them, and all Things return to the possession of the Owners. During the time of this War abroad, the malignant and factious Humours began to work again and ferment at home; and Cosimo de' Medici, after the Death of his Father, began to manage the publick Business with greater Intension and Magnanimity, and converse with his Friends with greater freedom than his Father had done. Insomuch that those who before were glad at the death of Giovanni, were much surprized and confounded to see him so far out-done by his Son. Cosimo was a wise and sagacious Gentleman, grave but graceful in his presence, liberal, and courteous to the highest, never attempted anything against any Party nor the State, but watched all opportunities of doing good to everybody, and obliging all People with his continual beneficence. So that indeed the excellency of his Conversation was no little distraction and disadvantage to those who were at the helm. However, by that way he presumed he should be lyable to live as freely and with as much Authority in Florence as other People: or else being driven to any strait by the malice of his Adversaries, it would be in his power to deal with them by the assistance of his friends. The great Instruments for the propagation of his interest were Averardo de' Medici and Puccio Pucci, Averardo with his prudence procuring him much favour and reputation. This Puccio was a Person so eminent for his Judgment, and so well known to the People, that he dominated

the Faction, which was not called Cosimo's but Puccio's Party. The City was divided in this manner at that time, when the enterprize was taken against Lucca, during which the ill humours were rather provoked and incensed than extinguished. And although Puccio's Party were the great promoters of it at first, yet afterwards in the prosecution of it many of the contrary party were employed, as Men of more reputation in the State. Which being above the power of Averardo de' Medici and his Comrades to prevent, he set himself with all possible Art to calumniate those Officers, and upon any misfortune (and no great thing can be managed without it) all was imputed rather to their Imprudence and ill Conduct than to the Virtue of their Enemies. He it was that aggravated his Enormities so strongly against Astorre Gianni. He it was disgusted Rinaldo degli Albizi, and caused him to desert his Command without leave. He it was which caused the Captain of the people to cite Guicciardini before him. From him it was all the other aspersions which were laid upon the Magistrates and the Generals did proceed. He aggravated what was true; he invented what was false; and what was true and what was false were readily believed by those who hated them before.

These unjust and irregular ways of proceeding were well known to Nicolo Uzano and other heads of that Party. They had many times consulted how they might remedy them, but could never pitch upon a way. To suffer them to increase they were sensible would be dangerous, and to endeavour to suppress them they knew would be difficult. Nicolo da Uzano was the first Man that exposed his disgust; but observing the War to be continued without, and the Distractions increasing at home, Nicolo Barbadori, desirous of Uzano's concurrence to the destruction of Cosimo, went to seek him at his house, and finding him alone very pensive in his study, he persuaded him with the best arguments he could use to joyn with Rinaldo in the expulsion of Cosimo, to whom Nicolo da Uzano replied in these Words:—

It were better for yourself, for your Family, and the whole Commonwealth, if both you and your whole party had their Beards (as they say you have) rather of Silver than Gold. Their Counsels then, proceeding from Heads that were gray and repleat with experience, would be fuller of Wisdom and advantage to the Publick. Those who design to drive Cosimo out of Florence ought first to

consider his interest with their own. Our party you have christened the party of the Nobility, and the contrary faction is called the faction of the People. Did the truth of the matter correspond with the name, yet in all adventures the victory would be doubtful, and we ought in discretion rather to fear than presume, when we remember the Condition of the Ancient Nobility of this City, which have not only been depressed, but extinguished by the People. But we are under greater discouragements than that: our Party is divided, theirs is entire. In the first place, Neri de Gino and Nerone de Nigi (two of the Principal of our City) have not declared themselves as yet; so that it remains uncertain which side they will take. There are several houses and families divided among themselves. Many out of a pique to their Brothers, or some other of their Relations, have abandoned us and betaken to them. I shall instance in some of the chief, and leave the rest to your private consideration. Of the Sons of Maso degli Albizi, Lucca, out of animosity to Rinaldo, has engaged himself on the other side. In the Family of the Guicciardini, among the Sons of Luigi, Piero is an Enemy to his Brother Giovanni, and sides with our adversaries. Tomaso and Nicolo Soderini, in opposition to Francesco, their Unkle, are manifestly defected. So that if it be seriously deliberated who are on their side and who are on ours, I know no reason why ours should be called the faction of the Nobility more than theirs. And if it be alledged that the People are all on their side, so much is ours the worse; for whenever we come to blows, we shall not be able to oppose them. If we insist upon our Dignity, it was given us at first, and has been continued to us for fifty years by this State; and if now we should discover our weakness, we should certainly lose it. If you pretend the justice of our cause, and that that will give us reputation and detract from our Enemies:

I answer, it is fit that justice should be known and believed by other People as well as ourselves; which is quite contrary, the whole cause of our present Commotion being founded upon a bare suspicion that Cosimo would usurp and make himself Sovereign of our City. Though this suspicion passes among us, it does not with other People, who accuse us even for our accusation of him. Examine the crimes upon which we ground our suspicion; what are they, but that he distributes his money freely according to every Man's necessity, and that not only upon a private but publick account, not only to the

Florentines, but to the foreign Commanders; that he favours this or that Citizen which desires to be a Magistrate; that by the general reputation he has among all People, he advances this or that of his friends to employments as he sees occasion: so that the whole weight and strength of his impeachment lyes in this, that he is charitable, liberal, ready to his friend, and beloved by all People. Tell me, I beseech you, what Law is it that prohibits, that blames and condemns beneficence or love? 'Tis true these are ways by which Men aspire and do many times arrive at the Supremacy, but they are not thought so by other People; nor are we sufficient to obtrude them, because our own ways have defamed us, and the City (having lived always in faction) is become corrupt and partial, and will never regard our accusations. But admit you succeed, and should prevail so far as to banish him (which truly, if the Senate concur, might be done without difficulty), how can you think among so many of his friends as will be left behind, and labour incessantly for his return, to obviate or prevent it? Certainly it will be impossible; his interest is so great and himself so universally beloved, you can never secure him. If you go about to banish the chief of those who discover themselves to be his friends, you do but multiply your adversaries and create more Enemies to yourself: return he will in a very short time, and then you have gained only this point, to have banished a good Man and re-admitted a bad; for you must expect he will be exasperated, his Nature debauched by those who call him back, and being obliged to them so highly, it will be no prudence in him to reject them. If your design be to put him to Death formally by the co-operation of the Magistrate, that is not to be done; his wealth and your corruption will preserve him. But admit he should die, or being banished never return, I do not see what advantage will accrue to our State. If it be delivered from Cosimo, it will be in the same danger of Rinaldo, and I am of their number who would have no Citizen exceed another in Authority. If either of them prevail (as one of them must), I know not what obligation I have to favour Rinaldo more than Cosimo. I will say no more than God deliver this City from private usurpation, and (when our sins do deserve it) particularly from his. Do not therefore persuade to a thing that is every way so dangerous; do not fancy that by the assistance of a few you can oppose against a multitude: all the Citizens you converse with, partly by ignorance and partly by malice, are disposed to sell

their Country, and fortune is so favourable as to have presented them a Chapman. Manage yourself therefore by my Counsel for once, live quietly and observe, and as to your liberty, you will have as much reason to be jealous of your own party as the adverse. When troubles do happen, let me advise you to be a Neuter; by it you will stand fair with both sides, and preserve yourself without prejudice to your Country.

These words rebated the edge of Barbadoro's [Goldbeard's] fury, and all things remained peaceable during the War with Lucca. But peace being concluded and Uzano deceased, the City was left without wars abroad or Government at home, every Man driving on his own pernicious designs; and Rinaldo, looking upon himself now as Chief of the Party, pressed and importuned all such Citizens as he thought capable of being Gonfalonieri to take Arms and wrest their Country out of the jaws of a person who, by the malice of a few and the ignorance of the multitude, would otherwise inevitably enslave it. These Plots and Counter-plots on Rinaldo's side, and his Adversaries, kept the City in a perpetual jealousie: insomuch that at the creation of every Magistrate it was publickly declared how every Man stood affected both to the one faction and the other, and at the Election of Senators the whole City was in an uproar; everything that was brought before the Magistrate, how inconsiderable and trifling soever, created a mutiny; all secrets were discovered; nothing was so good, or so evil, but it had its favourers and opposers; the good as well as the bad were equally traduced, and no one Magistrate did execute his Office.

Florence remaining in this confusion, and Rinaldo impatient to depress the Authority of Cosimo, considering with himself that Bernardo Guadagni (were it not for his arrears to the Publick) was a fit Person to be chosen Gonfaloniere, to qualifie him for that Office, he discharged them himself. And coming afterwards to a Scrutiny, it fell out that Fortune (which has been always a friend to our disorders) made Bernardo Gonfaloniere for the Months of September and October. Rinaldo visited him forthwith, and told him that the Nobility and all People that desired to live happily were much rejoyced at his preferment, and that it was now his business to carry himself so as they might never repent it. He laid before him the danger of dividing among

themselves, and how nothing could contribute so much to their Union as the depression of Cosimo; for he was the Man, and no other, who kept them down, by the immensity of his treasure, and raised up himself so high, that without timely prevention he would make himself Sovereign. That (as he was a good Citizen) it was his Office to provide against it, by assembling the People in the Piazza, taking the State into his protection, and restoring its liberty to its country. He put him in mind that Salvestro de Medici could (though unjustly) curb and correct the Authority of the Guelfs, to whom (if for no other reason but for the Blood which their Ancestors lost in that quarrel) the Government belonged; and what he did unjustly against so many, Bernardo might do justly, and therefore safely, against one. He encouraged him not to fear, for his friends would be ready to assist him with their Arms in their hands. The People that were his Creatures were not to be regarded, for no more assistance was to be expected by Cosimo from them than they had formerly yielded to Giorgio Scali. His Riches was not to be dreaded, for when seized by the Senate, his wealth would be theirs; and for conclusion he told him, that in doing thus, he would unite and secure the Common-wealth, and make himself glorious. Bernardo replyed in short, that he believed what he said to be not only true, but necessary: and that time being now fitter for action than discourse, he should go and provide what force he could, that it might appear he had companions in his Enterprize. As soon as he was in possession of his Office, had disposed his Companies, and settled all things with Rinaldo, he cited Cosimo, who (though dissuaded by most of his friends) appeared, presuming more upon his own Innocence than the Mercy of his Judges. Cosimo was no sooner entered into the Palace and secured but Rinaldo with all his fervants in Arms, and his whole party at his heels, came into the Piazza, where the Senators causing the People to be called, 200 Citizens were selected to constitute a Balia reformation of the State. This Balia was no sooner in force but the first thing they fell upon, in order to their Reformation, was the process against Cosimo: many would have him banished, many executed, and many were silent, either out of compassion for him or apprehension of other People: by means of which non-concurrence nothing was concluded. In one of the Towers

of the Palace (called Alberghettino) Cosimo was a Prisoner in the Custody of Federigo Malavolti. From this place Cosimo could hear and understand what was said; and hearing the clatter of Arms and frequent calling out to the Balia, he began to be fearful of his Life, but more lest he should be assassinated by his particular Enemies. In this terror he abstained from his meat, and ate nothing in four days but a morsel of Bread. Which being told to Federigo, he accosted him thus :—

You are afraid to be poisoned, and you kill yourself with hunger. You have but small esteem for me, to believe I would have a hand in any such wickedness. I do not think your Life is in danger; your friends are too numerous both within the Palace and without: if there be any such designs, assure yourself they must take new measures; I will never be their instrument, nor imbrue my hands in the Blood of any Man, much less of yours, who have never offended me. Courage then; feed as you did formerly, and keep yourself alive for the good of your Country and Friends; and that you may feed with more confidence, I myself will be your Taster.

These words revived Cosimo exceedingly, who with tears in his Eyes, kissing and embracing Federigo, in most pathetical and passionate terms he thanked him for his humanity, and promised him reward, if ever his fortune gave him opportunity. Cosimo being by this means in some kind of repose, and his business and condition in dispute among the Citizens, to entertain Cosimo, Federigo brought home with him one night to Supper a Servant of the Gonfaloniere's called Fargannaccio, a pleasant Man and very good company. Supper being almost done, Cosimo (hoping to make advantage by his being there, having known him before very well) made a sign to Federigo to go out, who apprehending his meaning, pretended to give order for something that was wanting, and went forth. After some few preliminary words when they were alone, Cosimo gave Fargannaccio a token to the Master of the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova for 1100 Ducats, a thousand of them to be delivered to the Gonfaloniere, and the odd hundred for himself. Fargannaccio undertook to deliver them: the Money was paid, and the Gonfaloniere was desired to take some opportunity of visiting Cosimo himself. Upon the receipt of this sum Bernardo became more moderate, and Cosimo was only confined to Padua, though Rinaldo designed against

his Life. Besides Cosimo, Averardo and several others of the Medici were imprisoned, and among the rest Puccio and Giovanni Pucci. For greater terrour to such as were dissatisfied with the Banishment of Cosimo, the Balia was reduced to the Eight of the Guards and the Captain of the People. Upon which resolution, Cosimo being convened before the Senate the 3rd of October 1433, received the sentence of Banishment, with exhortation to submit, unless he intended they should proceed more severely both against his Person and Estate. Cosimo received his sentence very chearfully. He assured them that honourable Convention could not order him to any place to which he would not willingly repair. He desired of them, that since they had not thought fit to take away his Life, they would vouchsafe to secure it, for he understood there were many in the Piazza who attended to kill him; and at length he protested, that in whatever place or condition he should be, himself and his Estate should be always at the service of that City, Senate, and People. The Gonfaloniere bade him be satisfied, kept him in the Palace till Night, conveyed him then to his own House, and having supped with him, delivered him to a Guard, to be conducted safely to the Frontiers. Wherever he passed, Cosimo was honourably received, visited publickly by the Venetians, and treated by them more like a Sovereign than a Prisoner. Florence being in this manner deprived of a Citizen so universally beloved, everybody was dismayed, as well they who prevailed as they who were overpowered. Whereupon Rinaldo, foreseeing his Fate, that he might not be deficient to himself or his party, called his Friends together, and told them:

That he now saw very evidently their destruction was at hand; that they had suffered themselves to be overcome by the entreaties, and tears, and bribes of their Enemies, not considering that ere long it would be their turns to weep and implore, when their Prayers would not be heard nor their tears find any compassion; and for the money they had received, not only the Principal would be required, but Interest extorted with all possible cruelty; that they had much better have died themselves than Cosimo should have escaped with his Life, and his friends be continued in Florence. Great Men should never be provoked: when they are, there is no going back. Then now there appeared no remedy to him but to fortifie in the City; which our Enemies opposing (as doubtless they will), we may take our advantage

and banish him by force, since we cannot by Law. That the result of all this would be no more than what he had inculcated before, the restauration of the Nobility, the restitution of their Honors and Offices in the City, and the corroboration of their party with them, as the adversary had strengthened his with the People. And that by this means their party would be made more strong by assuming more courage and vigour, and by acquiring more credit and reputation. At last supperadding, that if these remedies were not applyed in time, he could not see which way, amidst so many Enemies, the State was to be preserved, and he could not but foresee the City and their whole Party would be destroyed.

To this, Mariotto Boldovinetti opposed himself, alledging the haughtiness of the Nobility and their insupportable Pride; and that it was not prudence in them to run themselves under a certain Tyranny to avoid then uncertain dangers of the People. Rinaldo perceiving his Counsel not likely to take, complained of his misfortune and the misfortune of his party, imputing all to the malignity of their Stars, rather than to the blindness and inexperience of the Men. Whilst things were in this suspense, and no necessary provision made, a Letter was discovered from Agnolo Accinivoli to Cosimo, importing the affections of the City towards him, and advising him to stir up some War or other, and make Neri de Gino his friend; for he did presage the City would want Money, and nobody being found to supply them, it might put the Citizens in mind of him, and perhaps prevail with them to sollicit his return: and if Neri should be taken off from Rinaldo, his party would be left too weak to defend him. This Letter coming into the hands of the Senate, was the occasion that Agnolo was secured, examined, and sent into banishment; and yet his example could not at all deter such as were Cosimo's friends. The year was almost come about since Cosimo was banished; and about the latter end of August 1434, Nicolo di Croco was drawn Gonfaloniere for the next two months, and with him eight new Senators chosen of Cosimo's Party.

So that that election frighted Rinaldo and all his friends. And because by Custom it was three days after their election before the Senators were admitted to the execution of their Office, Rinaldo addressed himself again to the heads of his Party, and remonstrated to them the danger that was hanging over their

heads; that the only remedy left them was immediately to take Arms, to cause Donati Velluti (who was Gonfaloniere at that time) to erect a new Balia, to degrade the new Senators, to create others (for their turns) in their Places, to burn the old and fill up the next Imborsation with the Names of their Friends. This Resolution was by some People held necessary and good, but by others it was thought too violent, and that which would draw very ill Consequences after it. Among the number of Dissenters, Palla Strozzi was one, who being a quiet, gentle, and courteous Person, apter for Study than the restraining of Factions or opposing Civil Dissentions, replyed, that all Enterprizes that are contrived with the least shadow of Wisdom or Courage seem good at first, but prove difficult in the execution and destructive in the end; that he had thought (the Duke's Army being upon their Frontiers in Romagna) the apprehension of new War abroad would have employed the thoughts of the Senate better than the Differences at home; that if it should appear they designed an Alteration of the Government (which could hardly be concealed), the People would always have time enough to get to their Arms, and perform what was necessary for their common Defence; which being done of necessity, would not carry with it either so much wonder or reproach.

Upon these Considerations it was resolved, that the new Senators should be permitted to enter, but such an eye to be had to their Proceedings, that upon the least injury or reflection upon their Party, they should unanimously take Arms and rendezvous at the Piazza of St. Pulinare, from whence (being not far from the Palace) they might dispose of themselves as their Advantage directed. This being the result of that Meeting, the new Senators entered upon the Office; and the Gonfaloniere, to give himself a Reputation and to render himself formidable to his Enemies, caused his Predecessor Donato Velluti to be clapped in Prison, as a Person who had embezzled the Publick Treasure. After this he felt and sounded his Brethren about Cosimo's return, and finding them disposed, he communicated with such as he thought the Heads of the Medici's Party, who encouraging him likewise, he cited Rinaldo Ridolfo Peruzzi and Nicolo Barbadori as the Principals of the contrary Faction. Upon this citation, Rinaldo concluding it no time longer to protract, issued forth from his House with

a considerable number of Armed Men, and joyned himself with Ridolfo Peruzzi and Nicolo Barbadori immediately. There were among them several other Citizens, besides a good number of Soldiers (which being out of Pay were at that time in Florence), and all drew up (as was before agreed) at the Piazza di St. Pulinare. Palla Strozzi, though he had got good store of People together, stirred not out of his House, and Giovanni Guiccardini did the same; whereupon Rinaldo sent to remember them of their Engagement and to reprehend their Delay. Giovanni replyed, that he should do disservice enough to the Enemy if by keeping his House he prevented his Brother Piero's going forth to the relief of the Senate. Palla, after much Solicitation, and several Messages, came on Horseback to St. Pulinare, but unarmed, and with only two Footmen at his heels. Rinaldo perceiving him, advanced to meet him, upbraided him with his Negligence, and told him that his not joyning with the rest proceeded from the want of Fidelity or Courage, either of which was unworthy a Person of his Quality or Rank; that if he thought by not doing his Duty against the other Faction he should save his own stake and escape with his Liberty and Life, he should find himself mistaken; that for his own part, if things happened adversely, he should have this Consolation, that he was not backward with his Advice before the Danger, nor in it with his Power: whereas he and his Comrades could not without horror remember that this was the third time they had betrayed their Country. First, when they preserved Cosimo; the next, when they rejected his Counsels; and the third then, in not assisting with their supplies; to which Palla made no answer that the Standers-by could understand, but muttering to himself, he faced about with his Horse, and returned from whence he came.

The Senate perceiving Rinaldo and his Party in Arms, and themselves utterly deserted, they caused the Gates of the Palace to be barracadoed up, as not knowing what else was to be done. But Rinaldo neglecting his opportunity of marching into the Piazza, by attending Supplies which never came to him, deprived himself of his Advantage, gave them Courage to provide for their Defence, and to several other Citizens to repair to them, both with their Persons and Advice. In the meantime, some Friends

of the Senators which were least suspected went to Rinaldo and acquainted him that the Senate could not imagine the reason of this Commotion; that if it was about the Business of Cosimo they had no thought of recalling him; that they never had any Inclination to offend him; if these were the Grounds of their Jealousie, they might assure themselves if they pleased, come into the Palace, be civilly received, and readily gratified in their demands. But fair Words would not down with Rinaldo, who told them that the way he had proposed to assure himself was by reducing the Senators to their private Condition, and reforming the City to the benefit of all People. But it seldom happens that anything is well done where there is equality in Power and difference in Judgment.

Ridolfo Peruzzi (moved with what the Citizens had said) told them that for his part he asked no more but that Cosimo might be kept out; that if that were granted he had his designs; that he would not fill the City with Blood nor impose upon the Senate; that he was ready to obey them if they pleased, and accordingly he marched with all his Followers into the Palace and was joyfully received. Rinaldo's staying at St. Pulinare, pusillanimity of Palla, and Ridolfo's revolt defeated Rinaldo of his Victory, and rebated much of the first edge and vigor of his Party: with all which the Pope's Authority concurred. Pope Eugenius, being driven out of Rome by the People, was at that time resident in Florence; who understanding the Tumult, and judging it incumbent upon his Office (if possible) to appease it, he sent Giovanni Vitelleschi (a Patriarch and great Friend of Rinaldo's) to desire he might speak with him, for he had Authority and Interest enough with the Senate to secure and content him, without Bloodshed or other detriment of the Citizens. Upon the persuasion of his Friend, Rinaldo with all his Squadron marched to St. Maria Novella, where the Pope lay. Eugenius let him know the promise the Senate had made him to commit all differences to his determination, and that (when their Arms were laid down) all things should be ordered as he pleased to award. Rinaldo observing the coldness of Palla and the inconstancy of Peruzzi, and having no more Cards to play, cast himself into his Holiness his Arms, not doubting but his Interest was sufficient to protect him.

Hereupon by the Pope's direction notice was given to Nicolo Barbadori and the rest which attended Rinaldo without, that they should go home and lay down their Arms, for Rinaldo was in Treaty with him about a Peace with the Senate; upon which News they all disbanded and laid down their Arms. The Senate continued their Treaty by the mediation of the Pope, but in the meantime sent privately into the Mountains of Pistoia to raise Foot, and causing them to joyn with their own Forces and march into Florence in the Night, they possessed themselves of all the Posts in the City, called the People together into the Palace, erected a new Balia, which the first time they met recalled Cosimo and all that were banished with him. And on the contrary Faction, they banished Rinaldo degli Albizi, Ridolfo Peruzzi, Nicolo Barbadoro, Palla Strozzi, and so great a number of other Citizens, that there was scarce a Town in Italy but had some of their Exiles, besides several which were banished into foreign Countries. So by this and such Accidents as these, Florence was impoverished in its Wealth and Industry, as well as Inhabitants. The Pope beholding the destruction of those Men who by his Intercession had laid down their Arms, was much troubled, complained heavily to Rinaldo of their Violence, exhorted him to patience, and to expect submissively till his Fortune should turn. To whom Rinaldo made this Answer:—

The small confidence they had in me who ought to have believed me, and the too great confidence I had in you, has been the ruin of me and my Party. But I hold myself more culpable than anybody for believing that you, who had been driven out of your own Country, could keep me in mine. Of the vicissitudes and uncertainty of Fortune I have had experience enough. I have never presumed in its Prosperity, and Adversity shall never deject me, knowing that when she pleases she can take about and indulge me. If she continues her Severity, and never smiles upon me more, I shall not much value it, esteeming no great Happiness to live in a City where the Laws are of less Authority than the Passions of particular Men. For might I have my choice, that should be my Country where I may securely enjoy my Fortune and Friends; not that where the first is easily sequestered, and the latter, to preserve his own Estate, will forsake me in my greatest Necessity. To wise and good Men 'tis always less ungrateful to hear at a distance than to be a Spectator

of the Miseries of his Country, and more honourable, they think, to be an honest Rebel than a servile Citizen.

Having said thus, he took his leave of the Pope, and complaining often to himself of his own Counsels and the cowardice of his Friends, in great Indignation he left the City and went into Banishment. On the other side, Cosimo having notice of his Restauration, returned to Florence, where he was received with no less Ostentation and Triumph than if he had obtained some extraordinary Victory; so great was the concourse of People and so high the demonstration of their Joy, that by an unanimous and universal concurrence he was saluted the Benefactor of the People and the Father of their Country.

BOOK V.

GOVERNMENTS, in the variations which most commonly happen to them, do proceed from Order to Confusion, and that Confusion afterwards turns to Order again. For Nature having fixed no sublunary Things, as soon as they arrive at their acme and perfection, being capable of no farther ascent, of necessity they decline. So, on the other side, when they are reduced to the lowest pitch of disorder, having no farther to descend, they recoil again to their former perfection: good Laws degenerating into bad Customs, and bad Customs engendering good Laws. For Virtue begets Peace; Peace begets Idleness; Idleness, Mutiny; and Mutiny, Destruction: and then *vice versâ*, that Ruin begets Laws; those Laws, Virtue; and Virtue begets Honour and good Success. Hence it is, as wise Men have observed, that Learning is not so ancient as Arms, and that in all Provinces as well as Cities there were Captains before Philosophers and Soldiers before Scholars. For good and well-conducted Arms having gotten the Victory at first, and that Victory Quiet. The courage and magnanimity of the Soldier could not be depraved with a more honourable sort of idleness than the desire of Learning; nor could idleness be introduced into any well-governed City by a more bewitching and insinuating way. This was manifest to Cato (when Diogenes and Carneades, the Philosophers, were sent Ambassadors from Athens to the Senate), who observing the Roman Youth to be much taken with their Doctrine, and following them up and down with great admiration, foreseeing the ill consequences that honest laziness would bring upon his Country, he obtained a Law that no Philosopher should be admitted into Rome. All Governments therefore do, by these means, some time or other come to decay; and when once at the lowest, the Men's sufferings have made them wiser, they

rebound again, and return to their first Order, unless they be supprest and kept under by some extraordinary force.

These Vicissitudes and Revolutions (first by means of the Tuscans, and then of the Romans) kept Italy unsettled, and rendered it sometimes happy and sometimes miserable: and although nothing was afterwards erected out of the Roman Ruins comparable to what was before (which nevertheless might have been done with great glory under a virtuous Prince), yet in some of the new Cities and Governments such sprouts of Roman Virtue sprang up, that though they did not usurp upon one another, yet they lived so amicably and orderly together, that they not only defended themselves, but repelled the Barbarians.

Among these Governments was the Florentine, though perhaps inferior in circumference of Territory, yet in power and authority equal to any of them: for being seated in the heart of Italy, rich, and ready upon all occasions, they defended themselves bravely whenever they were invaded, or brought the Victory to their Allies wherever they sided.

If therefore, by reason of the courage of those new Principalities, the Times were not altogether quiet, yet the severity of the War did not make them insupportable. For that cannot be called Peace where the Governments clash and invade one another, nor that War in which no Men are slain, no Towns pillaged, nor no Governments destroyed. The Wars of those Times were begun without fear, carried on without danger, and concluded without detriment. Insomuch that that Virtue which used to be extinguished in other Provinces by means of a long Peace, was spent and exhausted in Italy by the faintness of the War, as will be more conspicuous by our description of the Occurrences betwixt 1434 and 1494; in which it will appear how, at length, a new way was opened to the excursions of the Barbarians, and Italy relapsed into its old Servitude and Bondage. And if the actions of our Governors, both at home and abroad, be not to be read (as the actions of our Ancestors) with so much wonder and admiration of their Courage and Grandeur, yet in other respects they may seem as considerable, seeing how many noble and great People have been restrained and kept under by their Arms, how weak and ill-managed however. And though in our description we make no mention of the fortitude of the Soldier, the conduct

of the Captains, nor the love of the Citizen towards his Country, yet we shall discover what cheats, what cunning, and what arts were used by both Princes, Soldiers, and Citizens to preserve a Reputation which they never deserved. And this perhaps may be as worthy our knowledge as the Wisdom and Conduct of old; for if the Examples of Antiquity do teach us what to follow, our more modern Transactions will tell us what to avoid.

Italy, by those who commanded it, was reduced into such a Condition that when by Agreements of the Princes a Peace was made up, it was presently interrupted by those who had Arms in their hands, so that they neither gained honour by their Wars nor quiet by their Peace. A Peace being concluded betwixt the Duke of Milan and the League in the year 1433, the Soldiers, unwilling to disband, turned the War upon the Church. These Soldiers were at that time of two Factions, the Braccescan and the Sforzescan Faction. Of this latter, Conte Francesco, the Son of Sforza, was Captain; the first was commanded by Nicolo Piccinino and Nicolo Forte Braccio. To these two Parties all the rest of the Soldiers in Italy joyned themselves. Of the two, Sforza's Party was most considerable, as well for the courage of their Conte as for a promise the Duke of Milan had made him to give him in Marriage a natural Daughter of his called Madonna Bianca, the probability of which Alliance gained him great Reputation. After the Peace of Lombardy was concluded, both these Parties, upon several pretended occasions, turned their Arms against Eugenius the Pope. Nicolo Forte Braccio was moved by an old animosity Braccio had always retained to the Church. The Conte was spurred on by his Ambition. Nicolo assaulted Rome, and the Conte possessed himself of La Marca; whereupon the Romans (to evade the War) turned Eugenius out of Rome, who fled to Florence, though with no little danger and difficulty. Being arrived there, upon consideration of the danger he was in, and that he was deserted by all the Princes, who refused, upon his score, to take up those Arms again which so lately and so willingly they laid down, made his Peace with the Conte, and gave him the Signorie of La Marca, though the Conte had added insolence to his Usurpation, and, in his Letters to his Agents, dated them in Latin (as they do frequently in Italy), *Ex Girifalco nostro Firmiano, invito Petro et Paulo.* But not contented with

the Grant of that Country, he would needs be created Gonfaloniere of the Church, and the Pope condescended; so much did his Holiness prefer an ignominious Peace before dangerous War. The Conte, upon these Terms, became a Friend to the Pope, and converted his Arms against Nicolo Forte Braccio, betwixt whom, for many Months together, several accidents happened in the territory of the Church; so that which side soever prevailed, the Pope and his Subjects suffered more than those that managed the War. At length, by the mediation of the Duke of Milan, an Agreement (in the nature of a Truce) was concluded betwixt them, by which both of them remained Masters of several Towns in the Patrimony of the Church. The War was in this manner extinguished in Rome, but it brake out again presently in Romagna, by the means of Battista da Canneto, who had caused certain of the Family of the Grifoni in Bologna to be assassinated, and drove out the Pope's Governor and many others which he suspected to be his Enemies; to keep by Force what he had got by Surprize, he addressed himself to Philippo for aid; and the Pope to countermine him and revenge the Injuries he had received, applied to the Venetian and Florentine. Both Parties being supplied, there were two great Armies in Romagna of a sudden. Philip's Auxiliaries were commanded by Nicolo Piccinino, the Venetian and Florentine by Gattamelata and Nicolo da Tolentino. Not far from Imola they came to a Battle, in which the Venetians and Florentines were defeated, and Nicolo da Tolentino sent Prisoner to the Duke, where he died in a few days, either by Poison or Grief. The Duke being either impoverished by the War or apprehending this Victory would quiet the League, followed not his advantage, but gave the Pope and his Confederates opportunity to recruit; who choosing the Conte Francesco for their General, they sent him to drive Forte Braccio out of the Lands of the Church, and to try if they could put an end to that War which they had begun in favour of the Pope. The Romans seeing his Holiness in the Field again and his Army considerable, they desired to be reconciled, and having concluded the Terms, they received a Governor from him. Among other Towns, Nicolo Forte Braccio had possessed himself of Foligno, Montefiascone, Citta di Castello, and Assisi: not being able to keep the Field, Nicolo was retreated into this latter Town, and besieged by the Conte. The Siege

proving long, by the braveness of Nicolo's defence, the Duke began to cast about, and consider he must either hinder the League from carrying the Town or look to himself as soon as it was taken. To give the Conte therefore diversion, he commanded Nicolo Piccinino, by the way to Romagna, to pass into Tuscany: whereupon, the League judging the defence of Tuscany of more importance than the reducing of Assisi, they sent to the Conte to stop Piccinino's passage, who was at that time with his Army at Forli. Upon these Orders the Conte raised his Siege and marched with his Forces to Cesena, having left the War of La Marca and the care of his own Affairs to the management of his Brother Lione. Whilst Piccinino was labouring to pass and Francesco to obstruct him, Nicolo Forte Braccio fell upon Lione, and with great honour to himself took him Prisoner, plundered his People, and following his blow, took several Towns in La Marca at the same excursion. This News was very unwelcome to the Conte, who gave all his own Country for lost; nevertheless, leaving part of his Army to confront Piccinino, he marched himself against Forte Braccio with the rest, forced him to an Engagement, and beat him; in which defeat Forte Braccio was hurt, taken Prisoner, and died of his wounds.

This Victory recovered all that Nicolo Forte Braccio had taken from him, and forced the Duke of Milan to desire a Peace, which he obtained by the mediation of Nicolo da Este, Marquess of Ferrara, by which it was agreed that the Towns which the Duke had got in Romagna should be restored, and his Forces withdrawn into Lombardy; and Battista da Caneto (as it happens to those who owe their Dominion to the Courage or Power of other People), as soon as the Duke's Forces were drawn off, despairing to remain in Bologna upon his own Legs, quitted the Town, and left it to re-admit its old Governor, Antonio Bentivogli, who was chief of the contrary Party.

All these Things succeeded during the banishment of Cosimo; upon whose return those Persons who were active in his Restauration, and those who had suffered more than ordinarily before, concluded (without regard to anybody else) to secure themselves of all the Offices in the State. The Senate which succeeded for the Months of November and December, not satisfied with what their Predecessors had done in favour of their Party, they

lengthened the time, changed the Places of several which were banished, and sent many new ones into banishment after them. The Citizens were questioned and molested, not only for their inclinations to the Parties, but for their Wealth, their Relations, and private Correspondences. And, had this Proscription proceeded to Blood, it had been as bad as Octavian's or Sylla's: nor was it altogether without, for Antonio di Bernardo was beheaded, and four other Citizens (of which Zanobi Bel Fratelli and Cosimo Barbadoro were two), who having escaped out of their Dominions and being gotten to Venice, the Venetians (valuing Cosimo's Friendship before their own Honour and Reputation) caused them to be secured and sent them Prisoners home, where they were most unworthily put to Death. However, that Example gave great advantage to Cosimo's Party and great terror to the adverse, when it was considered that so potent a Republick should sell its Liberty to the Florentines, which was supposed to be done not so much in kindness to Cosimo as to revive and incense the Factions in Florence, and by engaging them in Blood, to render the animosities in that City irreconcilable, the Venetians being jealous of no other obstruction to their Greatness but the Union of those Parties. Having pillaged and banished all such as were Enemies, or suspected to be so, to the State, they applied themselves to caress and oblige new Persons to corroborate their Party, restored the Family of the Alberti, and whoever else had been proclaimed Rebel to his Country. All the Grandees (except some few) were reduced into the popular Rank; the Estates of the Rebels they sold to one another for a song. After which they fortified themselves with new Laws, new Magistrates, and new Elections, pulling out such as they thought their Enemies, and filling the Purses with the names of their Friends. But, admonished by the ruin of their Friends, and thinking not enough for the security of their Government to make the Imborsation as they pleased, they contrived that all Officers of Life and Death should be created out of the chief of their Party, and that the Persons who were to oversee the Imborsations and the new Squittini should (with the Senators) have power to create them. To the Eight of the Guards they gave authority of Life and Death. They decreed that the banished Persons should not return (though the time of their Banishment was expired) till leave

given them by four-and-thirty of the Senate and the Colleges, when their whole number amounted to but thirty and seven. They made it criminal to write or receive Letters from them: every word, every sign, every motion that was unpleasing to the Governors was punished severely; and if any one remained suspected who had escaped these Injuries, they loaded him with new Duties and Impositions, till, in a short time, they had cleared the City of their Enemies and secured the Government to themselves. However, that they might want no Assistance from abroad, and intercept it from such as should design against them, they entered into League with the Pope, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan.

Things being in this posture in Florence, Giovanna Queen of Naples died, and, by will, made Renier of Anjou her Heir. Alphonso, King of Arragon, was at that time in Sicily, and having good Interest with many of the Nobility of that Kingdom, he prepared to possess it. The Neapolitans and several others of the Lords were favourers of Renier. The Pope had no mind that either the one or the other should have it, but would willingly have governed by a Deputy of his own. In the meantime Alphonso arrived out of Sicily, and was received by the Duke of Sessa, where he entertained certain Princes into his pay, with design (having Capua in his possession, which was governed at that time, in his name, by the Prince of Taranto) to force the Neapolitans to his Will. Wherefore he sent his Army against Gaieta, which was defended by a Garrison of Neapolitans. Upon this Invasion, the Neapolitans demanded assistance of Philip, who recommended the Enterprize to the People of Genoa; the Genoeses not only to gratifie the Duke, who was their Prince, but to preserve the Goods and Effects which they had at that time both in Naples and Gaieta, rigged out a strong Fleet immediately. Alphonso having news of their Preparations, reinforced himself, went in Person against the Genoeses, and coming to an Engagement with them off the Island of Pontus, he was beaten, taken Prisoner (with several other Princes), and presented by the Genoeses into the hands of Duke Philip. This Victory astonished all the Princes of Italy who had any apprehension of the Power of Philip, believing it would give him opportunity to make himself Master of all: but he (so different are the Judgments of Men) took his measures quite contrary. Alphonso was a wise and

prudent Prince, and as he had convenience of discoursing with Philip, remonstrated to him how much he was mistaken in siding with Renier; for that assuredly, having made himself King of Naples, he would endeavour, with all his Power, to bring Milan in subjection to the French, that his Assistance might be near him, and that upon any Distress he might not be put to it to force a way for his Supplies; nor was there any way to do it so effectual as by ruining him and introducing the French. That the contrary would happen by making Alphonso Prince; for then, having nobody to fear but the French, he should be obliged to love and caress the Duke above anybody, in whose Power it would be to give his Enemies a passage; by which means Alphonso should have the Title, but the Power and Authority would remain in Duke Philip: insomuch that it imported the Duke much more than himself to consider the Dangers of one side, with the Advantages of the other, unless he desired more to satisfie his Passion than to secure his State; for, as by that way he would continue free and independent, by the other (lying betwixt two powerful Princes) he would lose his State quite, or living in perpetual apprehension, be a Slave to them both. These Words wrought so much upon the Duke, that, changing his designs, he set Alphonso at liberty, sent him back to Genoa, and from thence into the Kingdom of Naples, where he landed at Gaieta, which upon the news of his enlargement had been seized by some Lords of his Party. The Genoeses (understanding how, without any regard to them, the Duke had discharged the King, and considering with themselves that of all their danger and expence, he had ingrossed the Honour, impropriated the Thanks of the King's Inlargement, and left them nothing but his Regrate and Indignation for having defeated and taken him Prisoner) were highly dissatisfied with the Duke.

In the City of Genoa, when it has the free exercise of its Liberty by the free Suffrages of the People, a Chief is chosen, which they call their Doge; not with the absolute Power of a Prince, to determine arbitrarily of anything, but to purpose and recommend what is to be debated and resolved upon by the Magistrates in the Council. In the same City there are many Noble Families so mighty and potent, they are not without difficulty to be brought to any obedience to the Magistrate. Of all those Families, the

Tregosi and Adorni are most powerful and wealthy, and from them spring all the Divisions of the City and all the contempt of the Laws; for, differing perpetually among themselves and pretending both to the Dogeship, they are not contented to have it fairly decided, but came many times to blows; by which as one is set up the other is always depressed; and sometimes it falls out that that Party which is overpowered and unable to carry that Office otherwise calls in foreign Assistance, and prostitutes that Government which they cannot enjoy themselves to the dominion of a Stranger.

By this means it comes often to pass that they who have the Government in Lombardy have the command of Genoa likewise, as it happened at the time when Alphonso was taken Prisoner. Among the principal Citizens of Genoa who caused that City to be delivered into the hands of the Duke, Francisco Spinola was one, who not long after he had been very active to enslave his Country, became suspected to the Duke (as it often happens in those Cases). Francisco being highly dissatisfied, left the Town, and by a kind of voluntary Exile, had his residence at Gaieta. Being there at that time when the Engagement was with Alphonso, and having behaved himself very well in it, he presumed he had again merited so much favour from the Duke as to be permitted to live quietly in Genoa; but finding the Duke's jealousie to continue (as not believing he that had betrayed his Country could ever be true to him), he resolved to try a new Experiment to restore his Country to its Liberty and himself to his Honour and Security at once; believing no remedy could be administered so properly to his fellow-Citizens as by the same hand which gave them their Wound. Observing therefore the general Indignation against the Duke for having delivered the King, he concluded it a convenient time to put his Designs in execution, and accordingly he communicated his Resolutions with certain Persons which he had some confidence were of the same opinion, and encouraged them to follow him. It happened to be St. John Baptist's Day (which is a great Festival in that City) when Arismino, a new Governor, sent them from the Duke, made his Entry into Genoa. Being entered into the Town in the Company of Opicino (his Predecessor in the Government) and other considerable Citizens, Francisco Spinola thought it no time to protract,

but running forth Armed into the Streets with such as were before privy to his Design, he drew them up in the Piazza before his House, and cried out, Liberty, Liberty! 'Tis not to be imagined with what alacrity the People and Citizens ran to him at that very name; insomuch that if any, out of Interest or other Consideration, retained an Affection for the Duke, they were so far from having time to arm and make defence, they had scarce leisure to escape. Arismino, with some of the Genoeses of his Party, fled into the Castle which was kept for the Duke. Opicino presuming he might get thither, fled towards the Palace, where he had 2000 Men at his command, with which he supposed he might not only be able to secure himself, but to animate the People to a defence; but he reckoned without his Host, for, before he could reach it, he was knocked on the Head, torn in pieces by the Multitude, and his Members dragged about the Streets.

After this the Genoeses having put themselves under new Magistrates and Officers of their own, the Castle and all other Posts which were kept for the Duke were reduced, and the City perfectly freed from its dependence on the Duke. These things thus managed, though at first they gave the Princes of Italy occasion to apprehend the growing Greatness of the Duke, yet, now observing their conclusion, they did not despair of being able to curb him; and therefore, notwithstanding their late League with him, the Florentines, Venetians, and Genoeses made a new one among themselves. Whereupon Rinaldo degli Albizi and the other chief Florentine Exiles, seeing the face of Affairs altered and all things tending to Confusion, they conceived hopes of persuading the Duke to a War against Florence, and going upon that design to Milan, Rinaldo accosted the Duke as followeth:—

If we, who have been formerly your Enemies, do now with confidence supplicate your Assistance for our return into our own Country, neither your Highness nor anybody else (who considers the Progress of human Affairs and the volubility of Fortune) ought at all to be surprized, seeing both of our past and present Actions, of what we have done formerly to yourself, and of what we intend now to our Country, we can give a clear and a reasonable Account. No good Man will reproach another for defending his Country, which way soever he defends it. Nor was it ever our thoughts to injure you, but to preserve our Country, which will be

evident if you consider how, in the greatest stream of our Victories and Success, we no sooner found your Highness disposed to a Peace but we readily embraced it, and pursued it with more eagerness than yourself: so that as yet we are not conscious to ourselves of anything that may make us doubt of your Favour. Neither can our Country, in justice, complain that we are now pressing and importuning your Highness to employ those Arms against it, when we have obstinately opposed them before in its defence, for that Country ought equally to be beloved by all which is equally indulgent to all, and not that which, despising the rest, advances and admires only a few. Nobody maintains it unlawful in all Cases to bear Arms against one's Country. Cities are mixed Bodies, yet have they their resemblance with natural Bodies; and as in these many Diseases grow which are not to be cured without violence, so in the other many time such Inconveniences arise that a charitable and good Citizen would be more criminal to leave it infirm than to cure it, though with Amputation and the loss of some of its Members. What greater Distemper can befall a Politick Body than Servitude? And what more proper Remedy can be applied than that which will certainly remove it? Wars are just when they are necessary, and Arms are charitable when there is no other hopes left to obtain Justice. I know not what Necessity can be greater than ours, nor what Act of Charity more commendable than to wrest our Country out of the Jaws of Slavery. Our cause then being both just and charitable, ought not to be slighted either by us or your Highness, though it were only in Compassion. But your Highness has your particular Provocation besides, the Florentines having had the Confidence, after a Peace solemnly concluded with you, to enter into a new League with the Genoeses, your Rebels; so that if our Prayers and Condition should be unable, your own just Indignation and Resentment should move you, especially seeing the Enterprize so easie. Let not their past Carriage discourage you; you have seen their Power and Resolution to defend themselves formerly, and both of them were reasonably to be apprehended were they the same now as they have been. But you will find them quite contrary; for what Strength, what Wealth, can be expected in a City which has lately exploded the greatest part of its rich and industrious Men? What Obstinacy or Resolution can be apprehended in a People which are divided and at enmity among themselves? Which enmity is the cause that that very Treasure

which is left cannot now be employed so well as it formerly was; for Men do cheerfully disburse when they see it is for the Honour and Security of their Country, hoping that Peace may reprize what the War has devoured. But when in War and Peace they find themselves equally oppressed, and under a necessity in the one of enduring the Outrages of their Enemies, and in the other of truckling to the Insolencies of their Friends, Nobody will supply or Advance one Farthing towards its Relief: and the People suffer more many times by the Avarice of their Friends than by the Rapacity of their Enemies, for in this last Case they have hopes some time or other to see an end of it, but in the other they are desperate. In your last War you took up Arms against an entire and united City; in this you have to do only with a Remnant. Then you attempted upon the Liberty of the City; now you will endeavour to restore it. And it is not to be feared that in such disparity of Causes the Effects should be the same. Nay, rather your Victory is certain: and what Advantage and Corroboration that will be to your own State is easily judged, having Tuscany obliged to you thereby, and readier to serve you in any of your Designs than Milan itself. So that, though formerly this acquest would have been looked upon as Usurpation and Violence, it will now be esteemed an high piece of Justice and Charity. Suffer not, therefore, this opportunity to pass, and be sure, if your other Enterprizes against this City have produced nothing but Expence, Difficulty, and Dishonour, this will make you amends, and with great ease turn to your great Honour and Advantage.

The Duke needed not many Words to excite him against the Florentines; he had an hereditary Quarrel to them, which (besides the blindness of his Ambition) did always provoke him, and now more than ordinarily, upon occasion of their new League with the Genoeses. However, the Expences and Dangers he had formerly passed, the memory of his late Defeat, and the vanity and ill-grounded hopes of the Exiles discouraged him quite. The Duke, upon the first news of the Rebellion in Genoa, sent Nicolo Piccinino, with what Forces he had and could get together, towards that City to recover it, if possible, before the Citizens should have composed themselves or put the Government into order presuming much upon the Castle, which stood out for him. And though Nicolo drove the Genoeses up into the Mountains, and took from them the Vale of Pozivori, where they had fortified

themselves, yet he found so much difficulty afterwards (though he beat them into the Town) that he was forced to draw off. Whereupon, at the instigation of the Exiles, he received Orders from the Duke that he should attack them on the East side of the River, and make what Devastations he could in their Country towards Pisa, supposing that by the success of this Expedition he should be able to judge from time to time what Course he was to steer. Upon the receipt of these Orders Nicolo assaulted Serezano, and took it; and then, having done much mischief in those Parts to alarm the Florentines, he marched towards Ducca, giving out he would pass that way into the Kingdom of Naples to assist the King of Aragon. Pope Eugenius, upon these new Accidents, departed from Florence to Bologna, where he proposed and negotiated an Accommodation betwixt the Duke and the League, representing to the Duke that, if he would not comply, he would be forced to part with the Conte Francesco to the League; for Francesco, being his Confederate, was at that time under his Pay. But, though his Holiness took much pains in the business, that Treaty came to nothing, for the Duke would not consent unless Genoa were restored, and the League were as obstinate to have it remain free; so that all Parties growing diffident of the Peace, each of them began to make provision for War. Nicolo Piccinino being arrived at Lucca, the Florentines began to apprehend new Troubles, caused Neri di Gino to march with all speed into the Country of Pisa, and obtained of the Pope that Conte Francesco might join with him, and their united Forces take their Post before St. Gonda. Piccinino being at Lucca, desired a Passport to go into the Kingdom of Naples, and being denied, he threatened to force it. The Armies and Officers were of equal number and eminence, so that neither side being overforward to run the hazard of a Battle, by reason of the extraordinary coldness of the Weather (it being in December), they lay by one another several days without any Action at all. The first that moved was Nicolo Piccinino, who was informed that if in the Night he assaulted Vico Pisano, he should easily carry it. Nicolo attempted it; but failing of his design, he plundered the Country about it and burned the Town of S. Giovanni alla Vena.

This Enterprize (though for the most part ineffectual) encouraged Nicolo to proceed nevertheless, especially observing that the Conte and Neri stirred not to molest him: thereupon he assaulted

St. Maria in Castello and Filetto, and took them both. Nor did the Florentine Army move for all that: not that the Conte was afraid to come forth, but because the Magistrates in Florence (out of respect to the Pope, who was mediating a Peace) had not as yet resolved upon the War; and that which was but Prudence in the Florentines being interpreted Fear by the Enemy, they took Courage, and with all the Forces they could make, sate down before Barga. The news of that Siege caused the Florentines to lay aside all Compliments and Respect, and to resolve not only to relieve Barga, but to invade the Country of the Lucchesi. Whereupon the Conte marching directly against Nicolo, and giving Battle to force him from the Siege, he worsted his Army and made him draw off. The Venetians in the meantime, perceiving the Duke had broke the League, sent Giovan Francesco da Gonzague, their General, with an Army as far as Chiaradadda, who, spoiling the Duke's Country, constrained him to call back Nicolo Piccinino out of Tuscany. Which Revocation, with the Victory they had lately obtained against Nicolo, encouraged the Florentines to an Expedition against Lucca, and gave them great hopes of Success, in which they carried themselves without either fear or respect, seeing the Duke (who was the only Person they apprehended) employed by the Venetians; and the Lucchesi, by having, as it were, received their Enemies into their Houses, and given them cause to invade them, had left themselves no grounds to complain.

In April, therefore, in the Year 1437, the Conte marched with his Army; and before he would fall upon anything of the Enemy's, he addressed himself to the recovery of what had been lost, and accordingly he reduced S. Maria de Castello, and whatever else had been taken by Piccinino. Then advancing against the Lucchesi, he sate down before Camajore, whose Garrison and Inhabitants (though well enough affected to their Lord) being more influenced by the terror of an Enemy at hand than their Fidelity to their Friends afar off, surrendered immediately; after which he took Massa and Serazan with the same dexterity and reputation; and then, turning his Army towards Lucca in the Month of May, he destroyed their Corn, burned their Villages, stubbed up their Vines and their Fruit-trees, drove away their Cattle, and omitted nothing of Outrage and Inhospitality that is or can be committed by Soldiers. The Lucchesi seeing themselves abandoned by the

Duke, and unable to defend their Country, retired into the Town, where they intrenched and fortified so well, that they did not doubt (by reason of their Numbers within) but to be able to make it good for some time, as they had formerly done. Their only fear was of the Unconstancy of the People, who, being weary of the Siege, would probably consider their own private Danger before the Liberty of their Country, and force them to some ignominious Accord. Whereupon, to encourage them to a vigorous Defence, they were called together into the Market-place, and one of the wisest and gravest of the Citizens spake to them as followeth :—

You have often heard, and must needs understand, that things done of necessity are neither to be praised nor condemned. If, therefore, you accuse us of having drawn this War upon you by entertaining the Duke's Forces and suffering them to assault you, you are highly mistaken. You cannot be ignorant of the ancient and inveterate Hatred the Florentines bear you; so that 'tis not any Injury in you nor any Resentment in them, but your Weakness and their Ambition, which has provoked them; the first giving them hopes, the other impatience to oppress you. Do not think that any Kindness of yours can divert them from that desire, nor any Injury of yours provoke them to be worse. 'Tis their Business therefore to rob you of your Liberty; 'tis yours to defend it; and what either of you do in pursuance of those ends may be lamented, but cannot be wondered at by anybody. We may be sorry our Country is invaded, our City besieged, our Houses burned, but who of us all is so weak as to admire it, seeing, if our Power were as great, we would do the same to them, and, if possible, worse? If they pretend this War was occasioned by our admitting of Nicolo, had he not been received they would have pretended another; and, perhaps, had this Invasion been deferred, it might have proved more fatal and pernicious; so that 'tis not his Coming is to be blamed, but our ill Fortune and the Ambition of their Nature; for we could not refuse the Duke's Forces, and when they were come it was not in our power to keep them from doing Acts of Hostility. You know very well that without the Assistance of some considerable Prince we had not been able to defend ourselves; nor was any Man more proper to relieve us, both in respect of his Fidelity and Power, than the Duke. He restored us to our Liberty, and 'twas but reasonable he should secure it. He was always an Enemy to those who would never be our

Friends; if therefore we have provoked the Duke rather than we would disoblige the Florentines, we have lost a true Friend and made our Enemy more able and more ready to offend us: so that it is much better for us to have this War with the friendship of the Duke than to have peace with his displeasure: and we have reason to hope he will rescue us from these Dangers to which he has exposed us, if we be not wanting to ourselves. You cannot forget with what fury the Florentines have many times assaulted us, and with what Honour and Reputation we have repelled them, even when we have had no hopes but in God and in Time, and how both of them have preserved us. If we defended ourselves then, what reason now is there to despair? Then we were deserted by all Italy, and left as a Prey to the Enemy; now we have the Duke on our side, and 'tis not improbable the Venetians will be but slow in their Motions against us, seeing it can be no pleasure to them to see the Power of the Florentines increase. Then the Florentines were more free and unengaged, had more hopes of Assistance, and were stronger of themselves, and we every way weaker; for then we defended a Tyrant, now we fight for ourselves; then the Honour went to other People, now it returns upon us; then they were united and entire, now they are divided, and all Italy full of their Rebels. But if we had none of these Reasons, nor none of these Hopes to excite us, extreme Necessity would be sufficient to animate us to our defence. Every Enemy ought in reason to be apprehended by us, because all of them seek their own Glory and our Destruction; but, above all, the Florentines ought to be most dreadful, who are not to be satisfied with our Obedience, Tribute, nor the Government of our City; but they must have our Persons and Wealths, to satiate their Cruelty with our Blood and their Avarice with our Estates, so that there is no Person nor Condition among us so mean but ought justly to fear them. Let nobody therefore be dismayed to see our Country wasted, our Villages burned, and our Lands possessed by the Enemy. If we preserve our City, they of course will revert: if we lose our City, to what purpose will they be kept? Maintaining our Liberty, the Enemy can hardly enjoy them: but losing our Liberty, what comfort would it be to retain them? Take arms therefore with Courage, and when you are engaged with your Enemy, remember the reward of your Victory is not only the safety of your Country, but the preservation and security of your Children and Estates.

These last Words were received by the People with such warmth and vigour of Mind that unanimously they promised to die rather than to desert their City, or entertain any Treaty that might intrench upon their Liberty; so that immediately order was taken for all things necessary for the defence of the City. In the meantime the Florentine Army was not idle; after many Mischiefs and Depredations in the Country, they took Monte Carlo upon Conditions; after which they encamped at Uzano, that the Lucchesi being straitened on all sides and made desperate of Relief, might be strained to Surrender. The Castle was strong, and furnished with a good Garrison, so that was not so easily to be carried as the rest. The Lucchesi (as was but reason), seeing themselves distressed, had recourse to the Duke, and recommended their Case to him with all manner of Expression; sometimes they commemorated the Services they had done him, sometimes they remonstrated the Cruelty of the Florentines: what Courage it would give the rest of his Friends to see him interpose in their Defence, and what Terror it would infuse to see them exposed; for if they lost their Liberty and their Lives, he would lose his Honour and his Friends, and the Fidelity of all those who had ever exposed themselves to any danger for his sake: which Words were delivered with Tears, that if his Obligations should fail, his Compassion might move him to assist them. Insomuch that the Duke, adding to his old Animosity to the Florentines his late Engagements to the Lucchesi, but above all being jealous of the greatness of the Florentine, which of necessity would follow so important acquest, he resolved to send a great Army into Tuscany, or else to fall so furiously upon the Venetians that the Florentines should be constrained to quit that Enterprize to relieve them. He had no sooner taken this Resolution but they had News at Florence that the Duke was sending Forces into Tuscany, which made them suspicious of their Designs, and therefore, to find the Duke Imployment at home, they solicited the Venetian very earnestly that they would attack him in Lombardy with all the power they could make: but they were not only weakened, but disheartened by the departure of the Marquess of Mantoua, who had left their Service and taken Arms under the Duke. Whereupon they returned this Answer, that they were so far from being able to ingross the War, they could not

assist in it unless they sent Conte Francesco to command their Army, and obliged him by Articles to pass the Po with them in Person (seeing by the old Agreement he was not to go so far), for without a General they would undertake no War, nor could they have confidence in any but the Count; nor in him neither, unless he obliged himself to pursue the War in all places alike.

The Florentines were of opinion the War was to be carried on briskly in Lombardy; yet, on the other side, to remove the Conte was to destroy their Designs against Lucca, and they were very sensible that demand was made not so much out of any necessity they had of the Conte as to defeat that Enterprize. The Conte, for his part, was by Contract obliged to go into Lombardy whenever he should be required by the League; but now he was unwilling to forfeit his hopes of that Alliance which the Duke had promised him, by marrying him to one of his Relations; so that, betwixt the desire of conquering Lucca and the fear of having Wars with the Duke, the Florentines were in no little distraction. But their Fear (as it always happens) was the stronger Passion of the two, insomuch as they were content (as soon as Uzano was taken) the Conte should pass into Lombardy. But there was still a difficulty behind, which not being in their power to dissolve, gave the Florentines more Trouble and Jealousy than anything else, and that was that the Conte would not be obliged to pass the Po, and without it the Venetians would not entertain him. There being no way to accommodate this Difference but of necessity one of them must submit, the Florentines persuaded the Conte that in a Letter to the Senate of Florence he should oblige himself to pass that River, alledging that a private Promise not being sufficient to dissolve a publick Stipulation, he might do afterwards as he pleased; and which way soever he acted, this Convenience would certainly follow, that the Venetians having begun the War, would be compelled to pursue it, and that Humour be inevitably diverted which was so much to be feared.

To the Venetians they intimated, on the other side, that the latter, though private, was sufficient to bind him, and that they ought to be satisfied therewith; that whilst it might be done securely, it would be best to conceal it, and indulge his Respects to his Father-in-Law; for it would be neither for his nor their advantage to have it discovered without manifest necessity: and

in this manner the Florentines concluded upon the Conte's Passage into Lombardy; and the Conte having taken in Uzano, cast up certain new Works about Lucca to keep from sallying, and recommended the War to the Commissioners which succeeded. He passed the Alpes and went to Reggio, where the Venetians (being jealous of his Proceedings), to discover his Inclinations, put him at first dash upon passing the Po and joining the rest of their Army, which the Conte peremptorily refused, and many ill words passed betwixt him and Andreas Mauroceno, who was sent about it from the Venetians, upbraiding one another by their Pride and Infidelity; and after several Protestations on both sides—on the one, that he was not obliged to it; on the other, that he should not be paid without it—the Conte returned into Tuscany and his Adversary to Venice. The Conte was quartered by the Florentines in the Country of Pisa, and they were not without hopes of prevailing with him to reassume his Command against the Lucchesi, but they found him not disposed; for the Duke not understanding he had refused to pass the Po, in compliment to him (fancying by this means he might preserve Lucca), he desired him that he would be an Instrument to make Peace betwixt the Lucchesi and the Florentines, and if he could to comprehend him also, insinuating, by the bye, that in convenient time he should marry his Daughter. This Match had great influence upon the Conte, who persuaded himself the Duke having no Heirs Males, might thereby in time come to the Government of Milan. Upon which grounds he discouraged the Florentines from prosecuting the War, affirming that, for his own part, he would not stir unless the Venetians paid him his Arrears and performed the rest of their Covenants; for his Pay alone would not do his Business, wherefore it concerned him to secure his own State, and therefore he was to look out for other Allies, and not depend only upon the Friendship of the Florentines; that seeing he was abandoned by the Venetians, he was obliged to a stricter regard to his own Affairs; and threatened very slily to make an Agreement with the Duke. These Tricks and Expostulations were not at all to the Florentines' satisfaction. They found their Design upon Lucca lost and their own State in danger whenever the Duke and the Conte united. To prevail with the Venetians to make good their Terms, Cosimo de' Medici was despatched to

them (supposing his Reputation might have some influence upon them), and in a long speech to their Senate, he represented the posture of Affairs in Italy, the Power and Conduct of the Duke, and concluded that if the Count and he joined, the Venetians would be confined to the Sea, and the Florentines in no small danger of their liberty; to which it was answered by the Venetians, that they had well considered the Condition of Italy and their own, and did believe they were every way able to defend themselves; however, it was not their Custom to pay anybody for doing other People Service. It belonged, therefore, to the Florentines to see the Conte satisfied, seeing it was they had had the benefit of his Service, or rather (if they had a mind to preserve themselves in Security for the future) to correct and rebate his Insolence than to pay him; for Men put no bounds to their Ambition; and if he should then be paid without doing any Service, his next Demand, in all likelihood, would be more insolent and dangerous. In their Judgment, therefore, it was high time to put a stop to his career, and not let him run on till he became incorrigible; but if out of fear, or any other Consideration, they had a mind to continue him their Friend, their best way would be to pay him. With which Answer Cosimo returned, and nothing was concluded.

The Florentines nevertheless interceded very earnestly with the Conte that he would not forsake the League, who had no great inclination to it himself; but his desire to consummate the Marriage with the Duke's Daughter kept him in such suspence, that upon every little Accident he was ready to leave them. The Conte had left his Towns in La Marca to be secured by Furlano, one of his principal Officers. This Furlano was so earnestly sollicited by the Duke, that he left the Conte's Service and joined himself to him. Whereupon laying aside all other respects, to save his own Stake, the Conte came to an Agreement likewise with the Duke; and among the rest of the Articles this was one, that for the future the Conte should not intermeddle in the Affairs either of Romagna or Tuscany. After he had made this Peace with the Duke, the Conte was very importunate with the Florentines to come to an Agreement with the Lucchesi; and he persuaded them so far, that finding no other remedy, they came to a Composition with them in the Month of April 1438, by which Capitula-

tion the Lucchesi were to have their Liberties preserved, and the Florentines to keep possession of Monte Carlo and some other Castles which they had taken before: after which they writ many sad Letters up and down Italy, lamenting that, seeing God and Man were unwilling that the Lucchesi should fall under their Dominion, they had been constrained to a Peace with them: and so much were they concerned for their disappointment in that Enterprize, that seldom has anybody been known to lose their own Estates with more impatience and regret than the Florentines expressed for not gaining other People's. However, though the Florentines at that time had so many irons in the Fire, they forgot not their Alliances with their Neighbours nor the Decoration of their City. Nicolo Fortebraccio (who had married a Daughter of the Conte di Poppi) being dead, Poppi had the command of the Borgo San Sepulcro, the Castle, and other Appendixes, which he kept in behalf of his Son-in-Law whilst his Son-in-Law lived; refusing afterwards to surrender them to the Pope, who demanded them as usurped from the Church; upon which refusal the Pope sent the Patriarch with an Army to recover them by force. The Conte di Poppi finding himself unable to defend them, offered them to the Florentines, who would not accept them: however, upon the Pope's return to Florence, they interposed, and laboured an Agreement betwixt his Holiness and the Conte.

But finding the Treaty difficult and dilatory, the Patriarch fell upon Casentino, took Prato Vecchio and Romena, and profferred them likewise to the Florentines; but they could not be accepted, unless the Pope would consent they should restore them to the Conte, which after much Argumentation he did, upon condition the Florentines should use their Interest with Conte Poppi to restore Burgo to him. The mind of his Holiness being at quiet by this means, the Florentines (the Cathedral Church of their City, called Santa Reparata, having been out of repair, long since begun to be mended, and now brought to that perfection Divine Service might be celebrated in it) entreated his Holiness that he would oblige them so far as to consecrate it himself: to which he willingly condescended; and for the greater magnificence of the Church and City, and the ostentation and honour of the Pope, a Gallery was built from Santa Maria Novella, where the

Pope held his Court, to the Church which was to be consecrated, four Fathoms wide and two high, covered over with very rich Cloths, under which only his Holiness, his Court, and such Magistrates of the City as were appointed to attend him, were to pass; all the rest of the Citizens and People having disposed themselves in the Street, the Church, and atop of their Houses, to behold so glorious a Spectacle. The Ceremony being passed with the usual Solemnity; his Holiness, as a token of more than ordinary Respect, conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon Giuliano de Avanzati, at that time Gonfaloniere de Giustitia, but always a very eminent Citizen, to whom the Senate (that they might not seem behind-hand with the Pope in any point of Beneficence) gave the Government of Pisa for a Year.

About this time certain Differences arising betwixt the Greek and the Roman Churches, they could not agree in all Particulars about the Divine Worship; and forasmuch as in the last Council of Basel much had been said upon that Subject by the Prelats of the Church, it was resolved that all diligence should be used to bring the Emperor and the Prelats of the Greek Church together to the Council of Basel, to try if there was any way to accommodate them with the Romans. Though it was derogatory to the Majesty of the Emperor, and contrary to the Pride of his Prelats, to yield in anything to the Romans, yet the Turks lying heavy upon them, and fearing that of themselves they should not be able to resist him, that they might with the more confidence and security desire relief from other People, they resolved to comply: and accordingly, as was directed by the Council of Basel, the Emperor, the Patriarch, and several other Prelats and Barons of Greece arrived at Venice; but being frighted from thence by the Plague, it was resolved they should remove to Florence, and all their Differences be discussed and determined in that City. Being assembled, and for many Days together, both Romans and Greek Prelats, all of them in the Cathedral, after many and long Disputations the Grecians condescended, and complyed with the Church and Bishop of Rome.

The Peace betwixt the Lucchesi and the Florentines, and betwixt the Duke and the Conte, being concluded, it was thought no hard matter to put an end to the Wars of Italy, especially in Lombardy and in Tuscany; for the War in the Kingdom of Naples

betwixt Rinato di Angio and Alphonso d'Aragona was hardly to be composed but by the ruin of them: and though the Pope was discontented for the loss of so many Towns, and the Ambition of the Duke and Venetian was sufficiently known, yet it was supposed Necessity would force the one to lay down, and Weariness the other: but they were out in their Conjectures, for neither Duke nor Venetian could be persuaded to be quiet; but, on the contrary, they took arms afresh, and Lombardy and Tuscany were filled again with their Hostilities. The ambitious and haughty Mind of the Duke could not brook that the Venetians should keep Bergamo and Brescia, and the rather because he observed them always in Arms, perpetually making Incursions all over his Country, in which he thought he should not only restrain them, but recover all he had lost, whenever the Pope, the Florentines, and the Conte should desert them. He designed therefore to take Romagna from the Pope, supposing when he had gained that it would not be in his Holiness's Power to offend him; and the Florentines seeing the Fire at their own Doors, would not stir for fear of themselves; or if they did, they could not assault him conveniently. The Duke understood likewise how angry the Florentines were with the Venetians about the Business of Lucca, and upon that score concluded them the less likely to take up Arms for the Venetians; and as to Conte Francesco, he did not doubt his new Amity and the hopes of his Marriage would keep him quiet and safe.

To prevent Scandal, and give less occasion to anybody to stir (having obliged himself by his Articles with the Conte not to meddle with Romagna), he caused Nicolo Piccinino to take the Enterprize upon himself, and fall upon it as of his own Ambition and Avarice. Nicolo, at the time of the Treaty betwixt the Duke and the Conte, was in Romagna, and (by the Duke's direction) showed himself much dissatisfied at his Agreement with his implacable Adversary, the Conte. Whereupon he retired with his Army (in great discontent, as was pretended) to Cotignola (a Town betwixt Forlì and Ravenna), and fortified himself as if he designed to make good that Quarter till he could find some better Entertainment: and the report of his Disgust being spread all over Italy, Nicolo took order to have his Services and the Duke's Ingratitude remonstrated to the Pope; and that, though

by the interest of two of the principal Generals, he had got all the Forces of Italy under his Command, yet if his Holiness would say the word, he could contrive things so, that one of them should become his Enemy and the other unserviceable; for if he would provide him with Monies and supply him with Men, he would fall upon the Towns which the Conte had usurped from the Church, and by giving the Conte Imployment for the preservation of his own Countries, render him incapable of being subservient to the Ambition of the Duke. The Pope believing what he said to be rational and true, sent him five thousand Ducats, besides large promises of Provision for himself and his Children; and though many times he was admonished to have a care of being deceived, yet he would never suspect nor admit one word to the contrary.

The City of Ravenna was at that time commanded for the Church by Ostasio da Polenta; Nicolo conceiving it no time to protract (his Son Francesco having plundered and sacked Spoleto, to the great Satisfaction of the Pope), resolved to attack Ravenna, either thinking the Enterprize easie in itself or else holding private Intelligence with Ostasio, the Governour; which soever it was, he had not invested it many Days before it was surrendered upon Articles; and that being taken, Bologna, Imola, and Forli followed in a short time; and that which was most strange was, that of twenty strongholds which in those Parts were garrisoned by the Pope, there was not any one but submitted to Nicolo. And not contented with these Affronts to his Holiness, he added contumely to his Injustice, and writ the Pope word that he had used him according to his Deserts, for having impudently endeavoured to interrupt the old Friendship betwixt him and the Duke, and filled all Italy with Letters that he abandoned the Duke and sided with the Venetian. Having possessed himself of Romagna, he left it to the Government of his Son Francesco, and passing himself with the greatest part of his Army into Lombardy, he joined the rest of the Duke's Forces, assaulted the Country of Brescia, and in a short time brought it under subjection, and when he had done so, laid siege to the City. The Duke, desirous that the Venetians might be exposed, excused himself to the Pope, the Florentines, and the Conte, pretending *that what* was done by Nicolo in Romagna, if it were contrary to

their Capitulations, was no less contrary to his Inclination; suggesting privately, that when time and opportunity contributed, he would make him sensible of his Disobedience. The Florentines and the Conte gave no great credit to what he said, believing (as was true) that it was nothing but Artifice to keep them in suspence until he conquered the Venetians, who, supposing themselves able alone to contend with the Duke, were too proud to desire Assistance of anybody, but with their Captain Gatamelato, would wage War with him by themselves. The Conte Francesco desired, by permission of the Florentines, that he might have gone to the Relief of King Renato (had not the Accidents in Romagna and Lombardy diverted him); and the Florentines, for the old Friendship betwixt them and France, would have willingly consented, and the Duke would have assisted Alphonso, for the kindness he had expressed to him in his former Distress; but both the one and the other had too much Imployment at home to concern themselves in any Differences abroad. The Florentines seeing Romagna over-run and the Venetians baffled by the Duke (apprehending their own by the Calamity of their Neighbours), desired the Conte to come into Tuscany, that they might consider of some way to obstruct the Duke's Forces, which were then much stronger than ever they had been; adding withal, that if their Insolence was not suddenly restrained, there was no State in Italy but would feel the inconvenience.

The Conte knew well enough the apprehension of the Florentines was but reasonable, yet his desire that his Marriage with the Duke's Daughter might proceed kept him in supence; and the Duke perceiving his mind, kept him up with reiterated hopes (if he stirred not against him), for the young Lady was now of Age to have it consummated, and many times the Treaty was so far advanced that all convenient Preparations were made for the Wedding, when of a sudden some new Scruple or Cavil was found to protract it. However, to make the Conte more secure, he added some Deeds to his Promises, and sent him thirty thousand Florins, to which the Duke had engaged himself by the Articles of Marriage. But this Transaction hindered not the proceeding of the War in Lombardy. Every day the Venetians lost some Town or other; the Boats they sent to secure the Rivers were sunk and dispersed by the Duke's Forces, the

Country of Brescia and Verona harassed and possessed, and those Cities both of them so straitly blocked up, the common Opinion was, they could not hold out. The Marquess of Mantua, who for many Years had been their General, left them and went over to the Duke; so what their Pride would not suffer them to do in the beginning, in the process of War they were driven to by their Fear; for finding now they had no Remedy but in the Friendship of the Conte and the Florentines, they demanded it of themselves; but not without much Diffidence and Suspicion, lest the Florentines should make them the same answer which in the Enterprize of Lucca they had received from them about the Affairs of the Conte: but they found them more tractable than they expected, and indeed more than their Carriage towards them had deserved; so much more prevalent in the Florentines was their old Quarrel to their Enemies than their new Pick and Exceptions to their Friends. And having long before presaged the distress into which the Venetians of necessity would fall, they had represented to the Conte how inseparable his Ruin would be from theirs, and that he would find himself deceived if he expected the Duke would esteem him more in his good than in his adverse Fortune; for it was fear of him (whilst his Affairs were uncertain), and nothing else, had moved him to that Treaty about his Daughter; and, forasmuch as the same thing which necessity constrains People to promise it constrains them to perform, it was necessary to continue the Duke in the same distress, which could not be done but by preserving the Grandeur of the Venetians. He ought therefore to consider, that if the Venetians should be forced to quit their Territory upon the Land, he would not only be deprived of the Conveniences he might have from them, but of all that he might reasonably expect from other People who were afraid of them; and if he reflected upon other States of Italy, he would find some of them poor and some of them Enemies, and alone (as they had often inculcated) the Florentines were not able to maintain him; so that in all respects it was his Interest to sustain the Dominion of the Venetians upon the *Terra-firma.* These Persuasions, added to the hatred the Conte had conceived against the Duke for his juggling about his Daughter, disposed him to the Agreement, yet not so as to oblige himself to pass the Po.

The Articles were agreed to in February 1438, in which the Venetians engaged to defray two-thirds of the Charge of the War, and the Florentines one, each of them obliging themselves at their own Expences to defend the Conte's Lands in La Marca in the meantime. Nor was the League contented with these Forces and Allies; for they joined to them the Lord of Faenza, the Sons of Pandolfo Malatesta da Rimini and Piero Giampagolo Orsini; they tried the Marquess of Mantoua likewise, but they could not remove him from the Duke, to whom the Lord of Faenza revolted (upon better Conditions), though he had entered the League; which put them into great fear they should not be able to execute their Designs in Romagna so readily as they proposed. At this time Lombardy was in such distress that Brescia was besieged by the Duke's Forces, and reduced into such a Condition, it was daily expected when by Famine it should be constrained to surrender. Verona was in the same Condition, and if either of them was taken, it was concluded all further Opposition would be in vain and all their Expences hitherto lost: against this there was no visible Remedy but to send the Conte into Lombardy, and in that there were three difficulties. One was to persuade the Conte to pass the Po and carry on the War in all Places; the second was, that the Florentines seemed to be exposed thereby, and left to the discretion of the Duke, who, retiring into his own Fastnesses, might divide his Forces, and facing the Conte with one Party, join with their Rebels with the other and march into Tuscany, which was a course they were not a little afraid of; the third was, to resolve which way the Conte might pass most securely into the Country of Padua to the Venetian Army. Of these three difficulties, the second relating to the Florentines took up the greatest Debate; but, knowing the necessity and tired with the Venetians (who pressed for the Conte with all imaginable opportunity, and protested that without him they would give over all), they preferred the necessity of their Associate before any danger of their own.

However, the difficulty of the way was referred to be secured by the Venetians; and because for the managing of this Treaty, and inclining the Conte to pass into Lombardy, it was thought fit that Neri, the Son of Gino Capponi, should be dispatched to him, the Senate concluded to send for him to Venice, to make the Imploy-

ment the more grateful and instruct him the more commodiously about the way the Conte was to march. Upon this invitation Neri departed from Cesena, and came by Water to Venice, where never any Prince was received with more Honour and Acclamation than he was by the Senate; for upon his coming and the Resolutions which thereupon they were to take they believed the whole Happiness and Safety of their Government did depend. Neri being introduced into the Senate, spake to them in this manner:—

Most Serene Prince, my Masters were always of Opinion that the greatness of the Duke would be the destruction of your Commonwealth and their own, and that if anything prevented it, it must be the Grandeur and Prosperity of both. Had this been credited in time by your Lordships, our Condition had been better than it is, and your State secure from many Dangers wherewith it is now infested; but you not having given us either Assistance or Credit when our Necessities required, we could not make such haste to your relief, nor you desire it so readily as you might have done had you known us better either in Prosperity or Adversity, or understood that where we love once, our love is inextinguishable, and where we hate once, our Hatred is immortal. The love and respect we have always retained to this illustrious Senate you yourselves do know, having many times seen Lombardy full of our Forces which were sent in to your relief. Our Animosity to Philip is known to all the World, and we shall continue it to his Family; for 'tis impossible old Love or inveterate Hatred can ever be expunged, let the new Injuries or Endearments be as many as they will. We are and have been assured that in this War we might have stood neuter, with great favour from the Duke and no danger to ourselves; for though by your expulsion he had made himself Master of Lombardy, yet there would be enough left in Italy to secure us, seeing Envy is always concomitant with Power; one increases with the other; and where Envy is, War and Distraction must follow. We were not insensible likewise (by declining this War) how great Charges and Danger we should have avoided, and how easily, by our stirrings, we may transplant into Tuscany: but all these discouragements have been over-ruled by our affection of the State, and we resolved to assist you with the same vigour as we would defend ourselves: to this end (most Noble Lords) my Masters judging it necessary above all things

to relieve Verona and Brescia, and imagining that impossible but by the Conduct of the Count, they sent me first to him to persuade his passing into Lombardy (to which your Lordship knows he would never be obliged), and to try the same Arguments with him as wrought upon us: as he is invincible in Arms, so he is not to be outdone in Courtesie; and that Frankness and Generosity which he saw us practise towards you, he has endeavoured to exceed: he understood very well how much he should leave Tuscany exposed by his departure, but observing how we postponed our own Safety to yours, he very generously has promised to do the same, and prefers your Interest before his own. My business here is to proffer you the Count at the head of 7000 *Horse and* 2000 *Foot, ready to receive your Orders and seek out the Enemy as you please to direct. My request therefore is (and it is the request of my Masters and his own), that as he has exceeded the number which he was obliged to bring into your Service, so you would enlarge your Reward, that neither he may repent of his Enterprize, nor we be sorry we persuaded him.*

These Words of Neri's were heard with as much attention by the Senate as if they had been delivered from an Oracle, and so much was the Auditory revived thereby, they had not Patience to let their Duke reply according to Custom, but rising all of them upon their Feet, with their Hands lifted up and Tears in their Eyes, they gave the Florentines thanks for the good Office they had done them, and him for the diligence and dexterity of his Dispatch, promising that no time should ever obliterate it, not only in their own Hearts, but in the Hearts of their Posterity, and that their Country and themselves would always be at the Service of the Florentines. But the Transport being over, they fell into serious debate about the way the Count was to take, that Bridges and all other Conveniences might be provided. Four ways there were before them. One from Ravenna, along the shore; but that lying most upon the Sea, and the Fens, was not approved. The next was the direct way, but obstructed by a Castle called the Ucellino, which was garrisoned by the Duke, to be taken before they could pass; and that could not be done in a short time without great difficulty, and to be long about it would frustrate their Relief in another place, which required all possible expedition. The third way was by the Forest of Lugo, but the Po being over-

flown, that was unpassable. The fourth was through the Country of Bologna, over the Bridges at Puledrano, Cento, and Picue, and so by Finale and Bondeno to Ferrara, from whence, partly by Water and partly by Land, they might pass into the Country of Padua, and join with the Venetian Army: this way also had its difficulties, and they were liable to be impeded by the Enemy's Army; yet being chosen as the best, notice was given to the Count, who departing with all imaginable speed, arrived in the Country of Padua on the 20th of June. The arrival of so great a Captain in Lombardy revived the whole Government of Venice; and whereas before they were almost desperate of their Safety, they began now to take Courage and expect new Conquests upon the Enemy. The first thing the Count attempted was the relief of Verona; to prevent which, Nicolo marched with his Army to Soave (a Castle betwixt the Country of Vicenza and Verona); there he entrenched, throwing up a Ditch from Soave to the Marches of Adige.

The Count, finding himself obstructed through the Plain, resolved to march over the Mountains to Verona, presuming that Nicolo would either believe he could not pass that way, by reason of its steepness and cragginess, or let him pass so, before he believed it, that it would be too late to interrupt him. Wherefore, taking eight days' Provision along with him, he marched his Army over the Mountains, and at Soave came down into the Plains. And though Nicolo had thrown up some Works to incommode him, yet they were too weak to give him a stop. Nicolo finding the Enemy passed beyond his Imagination, and fearing to be forced to an Engagement upon some disadvantage, he drew off to the other side of the Adige, and the Count, without further obstacle, marched into Verona. Having overcome the first difficulty and relieved Verona, the next thing the Count was to attempt was to succour Brescia. That City is seated so near the Lake di Garda, that though it was blocked up by Land, yet the Lake was open, and they could supply themselves with Provisions. Upon that consideration, the Duke had put what force he could upon the Lake, and in the beginning of his Designs had secured all the Towns which were capable of supplying them by the benefit of the Lake.

The Venetians had Gallies likewise upon the Lake, but they

were not strong enough to encounter the Duke's. The Count thought it necessary with his Army to Land, to give the Venetian Gallies some advantage upon the Water, and therefore he concluded to attempt some of those Towns which lay conveniently for the famishing of Brescia. He clapped down therefore with his Army before Bandolino (a Castle standing upon the Lake), hoping, if he took that, the rest would surrender. But in that Enterprize his Fortune deceived him; for most of his Men falling sick, he was forced to raise the Siege and remove his Army to Zemo, a Castle belonging to the Veronesi, where the Air was more healthful and the Country more plentiful. The Count retired. Nicolo, not to slip the opportunity of making himself Master of the Lake, left his Camp at Vegasio, and with a select Party went to the Lake, where joining with the rest, he fell so furiously upon the Venetian Squadron, that he broke it quite and took most of them Prisoners. Upon this Victory, most of the Castles upon the Lake surrendered to the Duke. The Venetians, startled at this Defeat, and fearing lest the Brescians should yield thereupon, they solicited the Count very earnestly, both by Letters and Messages, that he would attempt to relieve them. The Count, perceiving his hopes of doing it by the Lake absolutely defeated and his way by the Fields impossible, by reason of the Trenches and Bulwarks, which were so numerous and strong, and an Army to make them good, so that to venture among them would be inevitable destruction, the way by the Mountains having been successful to him at Verona, he resolved to try it once more for the relief of Brescia. Having pitched upon his way, the Count departed from Zeno, and by the Val d'Acri, marching to the Lake of St. Andrea, he passed to Forboli and Penda upon the Lake di Garda, from whence he advanced to Tenna, and sate down before it, it being necessary that Castle should be taken before he could get into Brescia. Nicolo having intelligence of his Design, marched his Army to Peschiera, and from thence (joining with the Marquess of Mantoua and a commanded Party of his best Men) he proceeded to engage the Count, who giving him Battle, Nicolo was beaten, his Army dispersed, many of them taken Prisoners, and those which escaped, many of them fled to their Camp and many of them to the Fleet. Nicolo got himself into Tenna, and Night being come, concluding if he stayed till Morning he could never

get farther, to avoid a certain danger he exposed himself to a doubtful.

Of all his Retinue, Nicolo had only one Servant with him, a lusty strong German, and one that had always been very faithful to him. Nicolo persuaded his German that if he would put him into a Sack, he might carry him off to some secure place upon his Shoulders, as some Luggage of his Master's. The Enemy lay round before the Castle, but (transported and secure upon their Victory the Day before) without any Order or Guards: by which means the German found no great difficulty in the Business; for putting himself into the Habit of a Freebooter, and mounting his Master upon his Shoulders, he passed through their whole Camp and brought him safe to his Party. This Victory, had it been improved as happily as it was gained, might have given more Relief to Brescia and more Felicity to the Venetians; but being ill managed, they had little reason to exult, and Brescia remaining in the same necessity as before; for Nicolo was no sooner returned to the Forces which he had left behind but he set all his Wits to work which way he might exploit some new thing to atone for his Loss and obstruct the Relief of the Town. He knew himself the situation of the Citadel of Verona, and had learned from the Prisoners taken in that War, not only that it was ill guarded, but the way how it might easily be surprized: he believed, therefore, that Fortune had presented him with an opportunity of recovering his Honour and converting his Enemy's Joy into Sadness and Sorrow. Verona is in Lombardy, seated at the foot of those Mountains which divide Italy from Germany; so that it stands partly upon the Hill and partly upon the Plain. The River Adige rises in the Valley di Trento, and running into Italy, does not extend itself immediately through the Plains, but bending to the Left-hand among the Mountains, it comes at length to the City, and passes through the midst of it, yet not so as to divide it into equal parts, for towards the Plain it is much greater than towards the Mountains. Upon the rising part of the City there are two Castles, one of them called San Piero and the other San Felice, which appear stronger in their situation than their Walls, and do by it command the whole Town. In the Plain, on this side the Adige, behind the Wall of the City, there are two Fortresses about a thousand paces distant one from the other, of

which the one is called the old Citadel and the other the new. On the inside of one of them there passes a Wall to the other, and is (in respect of the other Walls which fetch a compass) as the String to a Bow. All the space betwixt these two Walls is full of Inhabitants, and called the Borg of San Zeno. These two Castles and the Burg Nicolo designed to surprize, believing it would be no difficult matter, both because of the former negligence of the Guards (which he presumed after the late Victory would be much greater) and of an opinion he had that no Enterprize was so feasible as that which the Enemy believed was impossible to be done. Having drawn out a Party of choice Men in order to his design, he joined with the Marquess of Mantoua, and marching in the Night to Verona, he scaled the new Citadel and took it without being perceived, and then forcing upon the Porte di S. Antoine, the signal was given to his Horse, and they marched all of them into the Town. Those of the old Citadel who were upon the Guard, hearing the noise when the Sentinels in the other Citadel were knocked on the head, and when the Gate of S. Antoine was broken up, believing it was the Enemy, cryed out to the People to Arm and fell a-ringing their Bells. The Citizens taking the alarm, came together in great confusion; those of them who had most Courage got to their Arms, and retreated with them to the Palace of the Rettori. In the meantime Nicolo's Soldiers had plundered the Borgo di S. Zeno, and advancing towards the Town, the Citizens, perceiving the Duke's Forces were entered, and no way left to defend themselves, advised the Venetian Rettori to retire into the Fortresses and preserve themselves and their Goods; for (as they said) it would be much better to do so, and attend better Fortune, than by endeavouring to avoid the present Danger to be knocked on the Head and the whole City pillaged. Hereupon the Retorri and all the Venetians betook themselves to the Castle of S. Felice; and several of the principal Citizens went to meet Nicolo and the Marquess of Mantoua, to beg of them that they would rather possess that City rich and with honour than poor to their disgrace, especially seeing they had not by an obstinate Defence deserved preferment from their old Masters or hatred from their new. The Marquess and Nicolo having encouraged them what they could, they protected them from Plunder as much as was

possible; and because they were confident the Count would immediately address himself to the recovery of the Town, they contrived with all imaginable industry to get the Fort into their hands; but what they could not take they blocked up with Ditches and Trenches cut about to obstruct the Enemy from relieving them.

The Count Francesco was with his Army at Tenna, where, upon the first report of this Surprize, he believed it but vain; afterwards understanding the truth, he resolved by a more than ordinary speed to recompence his former Negligence and expiate its Disgrace. And though all the chief Officers of his Army advised him to give over his Enterprize of Brescia and Verona and retire to Vicenza, lest otherwise the Enemy should encompass him where he was, yet he would not consent, but resolved to try his Fortune for the recovery of Verona; and turning about to the Venetian Proveditori and Barnardetto de Medici (who assisted as Commissioner for the Florentines), he encouraged them in their Doubts, and assured them he would retake it if any of the Castles held out for him. Having put all things in order and drawn out his Men, he marched towards Verona with all expedition. At first sight Nicolo imagined he was marching to Vicenza, as he had been counselled by his Officers; but observing him to march on and direct his Forces towards the Castle of S. Felice, he thought it time to provide for his Defence. But all was too late; the Trenches and embarrasments were not finished; the Soldiers separated, and plundering, and could not be got together time enough to hinder the Count from getting into the Citadel, and from thence into the City, to the great disparagement of Nicolo and detriment of his Party, who with the Marquess of Mantoua retreated first into the Citadel which they had taken, and from thence escaped to the City of Mantoua, where rallying the remainder of their Forces, they joined themselves with the Army before Brescia: so that in four Days' time Verona was won and lost by the Duke's Forces. Being Winter-time and the Weather very cold, the Count having after his Victory put in some supplies of Victuals into Brescia, though with very great difficulty, he removed his Quarters to Verona, having given order for the building certain Gallies to Forboli that Winter, to *be ready against* the Spring, that then he might be so strong both

by Land and by Water as to give Brescia an effectual and total Relief.

The Duke seeing the War at a stand for a time, and his hopes of being Master of Verona and Brescia at an end, all which he attributed to the Counsel and Supplies of the Florentines, whose Affection could not be alienated by all the provocations the Venetians had given them, nor gained over to his side by all the promises which he had made them, that they might be sensible of their own oversight and feel the inconveniences they had pulled upon themselves, he resolved to invade Tuscany, to which he was much encouraged by Nicolo and the Florentine Exiles. Nicolo's design was upon the Possessions of Braccio, and to drive the Count out of La Marca; the other had an itching after their own Country, and a mind to be at home; so that both Parties animated the Duke with such Arguments as were most suitable to their particular designs. Nicolo told him he might send him with an Army into Tuscany, and leave Brescia besieged; for he was Master of the Lake, was well entrenched about the Town, had several strong Castles in the Country, and good Officers and Soldiers enough to resist the Count if he should make any Attempt in another place, which was not to be imagined till he had relieved Brescia, and that was impossible; so that if he pleased, he might make War in Tuscany and not quit his Enterprize in Lombardy: he remonstrated, besides, that the Florentines would be constrained, as soon as they saw him in Tuscany, to call back the Count or be ruined; and whichsoever of the two happen, his Victory would be certain.

The Exiles inculcated that if Nicolo came near Florence with his Army, it was impossible but the People, tired out with their Taxes and the insolence of the Grandees, would take Arms and revolt. As to his passage to Florence, they promised it should be easie, and Casentino open to them, by the interest and correspondence which Rinaldo held with that Governor: so that the Duke, inclinable of himself, was much fortified and encouraged by their persuasions. The Venetians, on the other side (though the Winter was very sharp), pressed the Count to the relief of Brescia with his whole Army; but he refused, alledging it was not to be done at that time, that better Weather was to be expected, and that in the interim their Fleet should be got ready, and then it

might be attempted both by Land and by Water: which Answer giving no satisfaction, the Venetians became slow and remiss in sending them Provisions, so that in their Army many People died. The Florentines having advertisement of all these passages, were greatly dismayed, seeing the War brought home to them of Tuscany, and that in Lombardy not turned to account. Nor were they less fearful of the Forces of the Church; not that the Pope was their Enemy, but that they found that Army at the Devotion of the Patriarch, who was their implacable Adversary. Giovanni Vitelleschi Cornetano was first Apostolical Notarie, then Bishop of Ricanati, after the Patriarch of Alexandria, and being at last created Cardinal, was called the Cardinal of Florence. This Cardinal was a cunning and courageous Person, so capable of Business that the Pope had a strong affection for him, gave him command of the Forces of the Church; and in all the Pope's Enterprizes in Tuscany, Romagna, Naples, and Rome he was constantly his General; so that by degrees he gained so great authority both over the Army and the Pope, that the Pope began to be afraid to command him, and the Army to refuse their Obedience to anybody but he, the Cardinal being at that time in Rome when the news arrived that Nicolo was marching into Tuscany.

The fear of the Florentines was highly increased, because from the time of Rinaldo's expulsion that Cardinal had been an Enemy to their State; for the Articles of Agreement which were by his mediation procured in Florence were not made good, but rather managed to the prejudice of Rinaldo, he having been the occasion of his laying down his Arms, and that the occasion of his Banishment: so that the Government of Florence began to fear the time was come for the restoration of Rinaldo, if he joined with Nicolo in his Expedition into Tuscany; and their apprehensions were augmented by the sudden departure of Nicolo, who seemed to them to leave an Enterprize which he had almost compleated, to embark himself in another that was more dangerous and doubtful: which they presumed he would never have done without some private Intelligence or unknown Invitation. These their Apprehensions they had infused into the Pope, who was grown sensible of his error in having transferred so much Authority upon other People. But whilst the Florentines were in this

suspence, Fortune presented them a way to secure themselves of the Patriarch. That State had Scouts abroad to intercept and peruse all Letters, to see if they could meet with any Correspondence to the prejudice of the State. At Monte Pulciano it happened a Pacquet was taken which the Patriarch had written to Nicolo Piccinino without the knowledge or consent of the Pope. Though the Character was strange and the Sense so implicite and abstruse that nothing could be made out of it, yet that obscurity, considered with its directions to an Enemy, alarmed his Holiness so as he resolved to secure him. The care of his Apprehension he committed to Antonio Rido da Padoua, whom he had made Governor of the Castle of Rome. Antonio, as soon as he had his Orders, was ready to execute them, and expected an opportunity. The Patriarch had resolved to pass into Tuscany, and having fixed upon the next day for his departure from Rome, he sent to the Governor that he would be upon the Bridge next morning at a precise hour, for he had something to discourse with him. Antonio thought now his opportunity was come, ordered his People as he thought convenient, and at the time appointed was ready expecting the Patriarch upon the Bridge, which was to be drawn up or let down as occasion required. The Patriarch was punctual, and came exactly at his time, and Antonio entertaining him a while upon the Bridge, gave a sign, and on a sudden the Bridge was pulled up and the Patriarch in the Castle; so that of the General of an Army he became a Prisoner in a moment. The People which were with him began to swagger at first, but understanding afterwards it was his Holiness's direction, they were pacified and quiet; and the Governor of the Castle comforting him with fair words, and giving him hopes of a better condition, the Patriarch replyed that great Persons were not secured to be discharged again; that those who deserved to be seized did not deserve to be dismissed; and it was his own case, for he died in Prison not long after, and Ludovico, Patriarch of Aquileia, was made General of the Pope's Army in his place, who, though before he could not be engaged in the Wars betwixt the Duke and the League, yet then he was persuaded, and promised to be ready for the defence of Tuscany with 4000 Horse and 2000 Foot.

Being delivered from this danger, there was another of no less

importance, and that was their fear of Nicolo upon the confusion of Affairs in Lombardy and the differences betwixt the Venetians and the Count. For better information, the Florentines sent Neri, the Son of Gino Capponi, and Guiliano d'Anazenti to Venice, as also to settle the prosecution of the War for the next Year, commanding Neri, upon the resolution of the Venetians, to repair to the Count to sound his, and exhort him to such Courses as should be necessary for the security of the League. These Ambassadors were scarce got onward on their way as far as Ferrara before they had the news that Piccinino had passed the Po with 6000 Horse. Thereupon they made what haste was possible, and being come to Venice, they found that Senate very positive to have Brescia relieved at that very time, not being (as they said) able to attend any better, nor their State to put out any Fleet; so that without present Supply they would be forced to surrender, which would compleat the Duke's Successes and be the loss of all their Territories by Land. Finding them so perverse, Neri went to Verona to hear what Arguments the Count could produce to the contrary, who with good Reasons made it out to him that to endeavour the relief of Brescia in that juncture would be not only ineffectual at present, but much to their prejudice afterwards; for considering the Season of the Year and situation of the Town, nothing could be done; he should only harass and disorder his Men so as when a proper time for Action should come he should be forced to draw off to Verona to supply himself with what the Winter had consumed, and what was necessary for their future Support; so that all the time that was fit for Action would be spent in marching backward and forward. To adjust these Things, Orsalto Justiniani and Giovan Pisani were sent to Verona to the Count, by whom it was concluded (after much dispute) that the Venetians for the ensuing Year should give the Count 80,000 Ducats, and 40 apiece to the rest of his Army; that he should march forth with his whole Army and fall upon the Duke, endeavouring by some smart impression upon his Country to make him recall Nicolo out of Lombardy. After which conclusion they returned to Venice, but the Venetians (the Sum being thought very great) went on but slowly with their preparations. Nicolo Piccinino proceeded, however, was got already the Country of Romagna, and tampered so successfully with

the Sons of Pandolfo Malatesta that they deserted the Venetians and took up Arms under the Duke. This News was unpleasing at Venice, but at Florence much more, because that way they thought to have given Nicolo a stop. But the Malatesti being in Rebellion, the Florentines were not a little dismayed, especially fearing that their General, Piero Giampagolo Orsino (who was then in the Territories of the Malatesti), might be defeated, and they by consequence disarmed. These Tidings were also no small trouble to the Count, who began to apprehend, if Nicolo passed into Tuscany, he might be in danger of losing La Marca; and (disposed to secure his own Country if he could) he came to Venice, and being introduced to the Duke, he declared to him that his passage into Tuscany would be convenient for the League; for the War was to be carried on where the General and Army of the Enemy was, and not among their private and particular Towns and Garrisons, because their Army once beat, there is an end of the War; but though their Garrisons be taken and their Towns reduced, if their Army be entire they should be never the nearer, but the War (as it does many times happen) would break out more severely; assuring them that La Marca and all Tuscany would be lost if Nicolo was not briskly opposed, which being lost, no remedy could be expected in Lombardy; but if it might, he did not understand how he could with any excuse abandon his own Subjects and Friends; for coming into Lombardy a Prince, he should be loth to leave it as a private Captain. To this the Duke of Venice replied, that it was manifest, and nothing more certain, that if he left Lombardy and passed the Po with his Army, all their Territories upon Land would be lost, and that it would be to no purpose to consume more Money in defending it. For he can be no wise Man who endeavours to defend that which he is sure to lose, and he no Fool who chooses to lose his Country alone rather than his Country and Money too; and if the loss of their affairs should follow, it would then be clear enough how much it imported the Reputation of the Venetians to protect Romagna and Tuscany. But the whole Senate was against his Opinion, believing if he succeeded in Lombardy, he should be sure everywhere else, and that could be no hard Task; that State, upon Nicolo's departure, being left weak and infirm, so that that might be ruined before Nicolo could be called back

or any other sufficient remedy provided; that if things were curiously examined it would be found that Nicolo was sent into Tuscany upon no other errand but to divert the Count from his Enterprize in Lombardy and remove the War from his own Country by carrying it into another; so that if the Count should pursue him without irresistible necessity, he would rather accomplish his Designs and do as he would have him; but if they continued their Army in Lombardy, and shifted in Tuscany as well as they could, they would be sensible of their ill Resolution when it was too late, and find that they had lost all in Lombardy irrecoverably, without any Equivalence or Reprisal in Tuscany.

In this manner every Man having spoken and replyed as his Judgment directed him, it was concluded to be quiet for some Days, to see what the Agreement betwixt Nicolo and the Malatesti would produce: whether the Florentines might rely upon Piero Giam Pagolo, and whether the Pope proceeded fairly with the League, as he had promised he would. This Resolution being taken, not long after they had Intelligence that Piero Giam Pagolo was marched towards Tuscany with his Army, and that the Pope was better inclined to the League at that time than before; with which Advertisements the Count being confirmed, he was content to remain in Lombardy himself; that Neri should be dispatched thither with 1000 of his Horse and 500 others, and if things should proceed so as that his presence should be necessary in Tuscany, upon the least Summons from Neri, the Count engaged to repair to him without any delay. Accordingly Neri marched away, arrived with his Forces at Florence in April, and the same day Giam Pagolo arrived there also. In the meantime Nicolo Piccinino having settled the Affairs of Romagna, was designing for Tuscany; and being inclined to have marched by the way of the Alps of S. Benedetto and the Vale of Montone, he found that Passage so well defended by the Conduct of Nicolo da Pisa that he believed his whole Army would not be able to force it; and because of the suddenness of this Irruption, the Florentines were but indifferently provided either with Soldiers or Officers; they committed the Passes of the other Alps to the Guard of certain of their Citizens, with some new-raised Companies of Foot, among which Citizens Bartholomeo Orlandini had the command, and more particularly the keeping of the Castle of Marradi and the

Pass that was by it. Nicolo Piccinino supposing the Pass of S. Benedetto insuperable, by reason of the Courage and Vigilance of the Commander, chose rather to attempt the other way, where the Cowardice and Inexperience of the chief Officer was not like to give him so great opposition. Marradi is a Castle built at the foot of those Alps which divide Tuscany and Romagna; but on the side of Romagna, at the entrance into the Vale di Lamona, though it has no walls, yet the River, the Mountains, and the Inhabitants make it strong. For the Men are martial and faithful, and the River has worn away the Banks and made such Grotes and Hollows therein that it is impossible from the Valley to approach it, if a little Bridge which lies over the River be defended; and on the Mountain-side the Rocks and the Cliffs are so steep it is almost impregnable: but the pusillanimity of Bartolomeo debased the Courage of his Men and rendered the situation of his Castle of no Importance; for no sooner did he hear the Report of the Enemy's Approach, but leaving all in confusion, away he ran with his Party, and never stopped till he came to Borgo a San Lorenzo. Nicolo (having possessed himself of that Pass, strangely surprized to consider how poorly it had been defended, and as much pleased that now it was his own) marched down into Mugello, and having taken several Castles, he stayed at Puliciano to refresh; from whence he made his Excursions as far as Monte Fiesole, and was so bold as to pass the River Arno, scouring, foraging, and plundering the Country within three Miles of Florence. The Florentines, however, were not at all dismayed, but the first thing they did was to secure the Government, of which they were not much afraid, both for the interest which Cosimo had with the People and the method they had taken to reduce the chief Officers of the City into the Hands of a few of the most potent Citizens, who with their Vigilance and Severity kept under all such as were discontented or studious of new things. Besides, they had News of the Resolutions in Lombardy of Neri's Approach, with the number of his Forces, and that the Pope had promised to supply them with more; which hopes were sufficient to support them till Neri's Arrival. But Neri finding the City in some disorders, resolved to take the Field and restrain Nicolo from foraging so freely; and therefore drawing together what Infantry he could out of the People, he joined them with his

Horse, marched into the Field and took Remole, which the Enemy had possessed. After the taking of that Town, he encamped his Army there, obstructed the Excursions of Nicolo, and gave the City great hopes of sending him farther off. Nicolo observing, though the Florentines had lost many of their Men, it procured no Commotion, and understanding they were all quiet and secure in the Town, he concluded it vain to lose time any longer; wherefore he changed his Designs and resolved to do something which might cause the Florentines to provoke him to a Battle, in which he doubted not to overcome, and then all things would follow as he expected, of course. There was at that time in Nicolo's Army Francesco Conte di Poppi, who (when the Enemy was in Mugello) revolted from the Florentines, with whom he was in League; the Florentines had a jealousie of him before, and endeavoured to continue him their Friend by enlarging his Pay and making him their Deputy over all the Towns which were near him; but nothing could do; so strongly did his Affection incline him to the other Party, that no Fear nor Act of Kindness whatever was sufficient to divide him from Rinaldo and the rest of the Brethren who had had the Government formerly: so that he no sooner heard of Nicolo's approach but he went in to him immediately and solicited him with all imaginable importunity to advance towards the City and march into Casentino, discovering to him the whole strength of the Country, and with what ease and security he might straiten the Enemy. Nicolo took his Counsel, and marching into Casentino, he possessed himself of Romagna and Bibiena, and afterwards encamped before Castle San Nicolo. That Castle is placed at the foot of those Alps which divide Casentino from the Vale of Arno, and by reason it stood high and had a strong Garrison in it, it was no easie matter to take it, though Nicolo plyed it continually with his Cannon.

This Siege continued twenty days, during which time the Florentines had got together what Force they could, and had already under several Officers 3000 Foot at Feghine, commanded by Piero Giam Pagolo as General, Neri Capponi and Bernardo de Medici as Commissioners. The Castle of San Nicolo had sent out four Persons to give them notice of their Condition and press them for relief. Whereupon the Commissioners, examining

the situation of the Place, found it was not to be relieved but by the Alps which came down from the Vale of Arno, the tops of which might easily be possessed by the Enemy before they could come at them, in respect they had a shorter cut to them, and the Florentines could not stir but they must of necessity be seen; so that to attempt a thing which was not like to succeed was to expose and cast away their Men without doing any good. Upon these Considerations the Commissioners having commended their Courage past, advised them to continue it whilst they were able, and when they found they could hold it no longer, to surrender upon as good Terms as they could. Hereupon, after thirty-two days' Siege, Nicolo became Master of the Castle; but the losing so much time upon so inconsiderable a Place was (in great part) the miscarriage of that Enterprize; for had he invested Florence, or but kept it blocked up at a distance, the Governour of that City would have been constrained to raise Money and Men, and must have supplied it with Provisions, with much more difficulty, having the Enemy so near them. Besides, many would have been pressing for Peace, seeing the War so likely to continue; but the desire the Count di Poppi had to be revenged of that Garrison (which had been his Enemy a long time) caused him to give that Counsel; and Nicolo, to oblige him, consented to it, which was the destruction of both: and, indeed, it seldom happens but private Animosity proves a prejudice to the Interest of the Publick. Nicolo, pursuing his Victory, took Passina and Chiusi, and the Count di Poppi persuaded him to continue in those Parts, alledging that he might extend his Quarters betwixt Chiusi and Pieve as he pleased, and make himself Master of the Alps; he might, as he saw occasion, return to the old Post in Casentino and the Vale Arno, and falling down into Vale di Chiana and the Vale de Fevere, be ready upon the least motion of the Enemy. But Nicolo, reflecting upon the Rockiness of those Places only, he replyed his Horses could swallow no Stones, and removed to Borgo a S. Sepulchro, where he was received with all demonstration of Kindness; from whence he endeavoured to debauch the Citizens of Castello, but they were too firm to the Florentines to entertain any such motion. Being desirous to have Perugia (where he was born) at his devotion, he went thither with forty Horse to make them a Visit, and was honourably

treated; but in a few days he rendered himself suspected, having been wheedling with the Legate and several of the Citizens, and made many Proposals to them, but none of them succeeded; so that, receiving 8000 Ducats of them, he returned to his Army.

After this he got Intelligence in Cortona, and was very busie in seducing it from the Florentines; but being discovered before it was ripe, that also came to nothing. Among the principal of that City there was one Bartolomeo di Senso, who, going the Rounds one Night by the Captain's order, was told by a Countryman, his Friend, that if he had no mind to be killed he should have a care and go back. Bartolomeo pressing to know his Reason, he found the whole Series of the Plot, and went immediately to the Governour and acquainted him; who, seizing upon the Conspirators, and doubling his Guards thereupon, expected the coming of Nicolo according to Agreement; who came indeed punctually at his time, but, finding himself discovered, returned to his Quarters. Whilst things were carried on in Tuscany at this rate, with little advantage to the Forces of the Duke, his Affairs in Lombardy were as unquiet, but with more detriment and loss; for Count Francesco, as soon as the Season gave leave, took the Field with his Army; and the Venetians, having repaired their Fleet in the Lake, he thought it best in the first place to make himself Master of that, and to drive the Duke out; supposing when he had done that, the rest would be easie. Whereupon he caused the Venetian Fleet to set upon the Duke's; which they did, and defeated them; after which he took all the Castles which they had in their possession; so that the Enemy which besieged Brescia by Land, understanding the destiny of their Comrades, drew off from the Siege and left the Town free, after it had been straitened three years. Having finished his business there and obtained so important a Victory, the Count thought fit to seek out the Enemy, who were retired to Socino, a Castle upon the River of Oglio, and dislodging them there, they retreated to Cremona, where the Duke made a Head and resolved to defend that part of his Country. But the Count advancing daily against him, being fearful he should lose all or a great part of his Territory, he began to lament the Resolution of sending Nicolo into Tuscany; and to redress his Error, he writ word to Nicolo of the Condition he was in, pressing him with all speed

to come back to his relief. The Florentines in the meantime had joined their Forces with the Pope's and made a halt at Anghiari, a Castle at the foot of the Mountains which part Val di Tevere from Valdichiana, four Miles distant from San Sepulcro; betwixt which Places the way was plain, the Country champain, fit for Horse, and proper for Battle. Having heard of the Count's Victory and that Nicolo was recalled, they thought the Victory might be obtained without more hazard or labour, and therefore Orders were dispatched in all haste to the Commissaries to avoid an Engagement by all means, for Nicolo could not stay in Tuscany many days. These Orders coming to Nicolo's ear, finding that of necessity he must part, that he might have left nothing untried, he resolved to provoke them to a Battle, believing he should take them unprovided, seeing (according to their Intelligence) they could have no reason to expect any such thing; and to this he was much encouraged by Rinaldo, the Count di Poppi, and all the Florentine Exiles, who knew well enough they were undone if Nicolo departed; but if they could bring them to a Fight there was a possibility of prevailing, and if they did lose the Victory they should lose it with Honour.

This Resolution being taken, the Army moved; and being advanced as far as Borgo before the Florentines perceived it, he commanded 2000 Men out of that City, who (relying much upon the Conduct of their General and the promises he made them, being also desirous of Plunder) followed him chearfully. Marching on from thence directly towards Anghiari in Battalia, Nicolo arrived with his whole Army within two Miles, when Micheletto Attendulo, perceiving a great Dust, and suspecting it to be the Enemy, cried out to have all People stand to their Arms. The Tumult in the Florentine Camp was not small; for that Army encamped ordinarily without any Discipline; and being negligent besides, in presumption the Enemy were farther off, they were fitter to fly than to fight, all of them being disarmed, and straggled from their Quarters into such Places as the shade or their recreations had carried them. Nevertheless, so much diligence was used by the Commissaries and the General, that before the Enemy could get up they were on Horseback and in order to receive them; and as Micheletto was the first that discovered them, so he was the first that engaged them, running with his Troop to

secure the Bridge which crossed the way not far from Anghiari. Micheletto having posted himself at the Bridge, Simomino, an Officer of the Pope's, and his Legate, placed himself on the Right-hand, and the Florentine Commissaries and General on the Left. Having planted the Foot as thick as possible upon the Banks, there was only one way for the Enemy to attack them, and that was by the Bridge; nor had the Florentines anywhere to defend themselves but there; only they ordered their Foot that if the Enemy's Foot should leave the Highway and fall upon the flanks of the Horse, they should let fly at them with their Cross-bows, and give their Cavalry a secure passage over the Bridge.

The first that appeared were gallantly received by Micheletto and repulsed; but Astare and Francesco Piccinino coming in with a commanded Party to their relief, they charged him so briskly that Micheletto was not only beat back over the Bridge, but pursued to the very end of the Town; and they which pursued them being charged again in the Flank, were repulsed over the Bridge, and all things as at first. This Skirmish continued two Hours compleat, sometimes Nicolo and sometimes the Florentines being Masters of the Bridge; and though the Fight upon the Bridge was equal to both, yet on this side and the other, Nicolo had much the disadvantage; for Nicolo's Men passing the Bridge, were received by a gross of the Enemy, which being drawn up with Advantage, by reason of the Ground, could charge, or wheel, or relieve those that were distressed as they saw occasion. But when the Florentines passed over, Nicolo had no place to relieve his Men for the Ditches and Banks in the way, as it appeared in the Conflict; for though Nicolo's Forces gained the Bridge several times, yet by the fresh supplies of the Enemy they were still forced to give back: but when the Florentines prevailed and passed over the Bridge, Nicolo had not time, by reason of the briskness of their Charge and the incommodity of the Ground, to reinforce his Men, but those which were behind were forced to mix with those that were before; one disordered the other, and the whole Army was constrained to fly, and every Man got to Borgo as well as he could. The Florentines let them go, as having more inclination to the Plunder, which in Horses, Arms, and other things afforded them a plentiful Prey; for with Nicolo there escaped not above 1000 Horse, most of the rest being taken Prisoners. The Citizens

of Borgo, who had followed Nicolo for prize, became prize themselves, and were most of them taken, with all their Carriages and Colours. This Victory was not so much prejudicial to the Duke as it was advantageous to Tuscany, for had the Florentines lost the Day that Province had been his; but he losing it, lost nothing but his Arms and his Horses, which a little Money would recruit. Never was there any War made in an Enemy's Country with less Execution than in this; for in so great a Rout and so sharp an Engagement, which lasted four Hours, there was but one Man slain, and he not by any Wound or honourable Exploit, but falling from his Horse he was trodden to Death: with such security did they fight then; for all of them being Cuirassiers on Horseback and compleatly armed, they could not presently be killed; and if they found there was no likelihood of getting off themselves or being rescued by their Friends, they surrendered before they could come at them to slay them. This Battle, both in itself and Consequences, was a great instance of the unhappiness of that War; for the Enemy being beaten and Nicolo fled to Borgo, the Commissioners would have pursued and besieged him in that Place, to have made their Victory intire; but some of the Officers and Soldiers would not obey, pretending they would dispose of their Plunder and cure themselves of their Wounds; and which is more remarkable, the next Day about Noon, without any regard to or leave from their superior Officers, they went to Arezzo, deposited their Prey, and returned to Anghiari when they had done.

A thing so contrary to all Order and Military Discipline, that the Reliques and remainder of any well-governed Army would easily have robbed them of their Victory which so undeservedly they had obtained. And besides this, the Commissioners giving order that all Prisoners should be kept (to prevent their rallying or getting together again), in spite of their Orders they dismissed them all. A thing most justly to be admired, that an Army so constituted should be able to get the Victory, and that the Enemy should be so poor-spirited as to be beaten by them. Whilst the Florentines therefore were marching to Arezzo and returning again, Nicolo had opportunity to quit Borgo and draw off all his Men towards Romagna; and with him the Florentine Exiles, who seeing their hopes desperate of returning to Florence, they dis-

persed themselves into all Parts of Italy, and some of them into other Countries, as their Conveniences prompted them. Of these, Rinaldo chose Ancona for his residence, and afterwards (to obtain a Mansion in Heaven for that which he had lost upon Earth) he went to visit the Sepulchre of our Saviour; from whence being returned, as he was sitting at Table very merry at the Wedding of one of his Daughters, he fell down on a sudden and died; his Fortune being favourable so far as to take him away in one of the most pleasant Days of his Life. A Man truly honourable in all Conditions, who would have been much more had his Stars brought him forth in a City that had been united; for Florence being factious, the same things disgusted there which would have been rewarded in another place. The Commissaries, when their Men were come back from Arezzo, and Nicolo departed, presented themselves before Borgo; whereupon the Townsmen would have surrendered to the Florentines, but could not be accepted. In this Treaty and Negotiation the Commissaries became jealous of the Pope's Legate, lest he had a design for seizing it for the Church; so that they came to ill Language, and doubtless some ill Accident would have happened had those Proposals proceeded. The Pope's Legate being gratified in his desires, that Controversy fell to the Ground. Whilst they were so solicitous for the Enterprize of Borgo, News came that Nicolo Piccinino was marched towards Rome, but others said towards La Marca; wherefore the Legate and many of the rest gave their opinions to march towards Perugia, to be ready to defend either Rome or La Marca, whither Nicolo was fled with Bernardo de' Medici; and Neri, with the Florentines, were to march For Casentino. This being determined, Neri departed with his Forces to Rassina, took it, and Bibbiena, Prato Vecchio, and Rassina; from thence he marched to Poppi, and besieged it on two sides, one towards the Plain of Certomondo and the other upon the Mountain that goes along to Fronzoli. Count Poppi seeing himself forsaken both by God and Man, had shut himself up in Poppi, not with any hopes of Relief, but to make his Conditions so much the better; and Neri coming before it and forming his Siege, he desired a Parley, and had as good Terms offered as in his State could be expected, which were to go away himself and his Children, with whatever they could carry with them; for which the Town and its Territory was to be

delivered to the Florentines. Whilst the Treaty was managing he came down to the Bridge over the Arno, which is at the end of the Town, and calling to Neri, in great sorrow and affliction he said to him:—

Had I considered my own ill Fortune and your Power, as I should have done, I had been now as a Friend congratulating your Victory, and not supplicating your Mercy as an Enemy. Fortune at present is favourable and propitious to you: to me it is rigid and severe. I had Horses and Arms, and Subjects and Estate, and who can wonder if I part with them unwillingly? But if you please (as you may) to command all Tuscany, we must of necessity obey. I have this only to comfort me, that had not I committed this error, such would not have been that exercise nor demonstration of your Generosity; for if now you should think fit to preserve me, you will leave to the world an indelible instance and example of Clemency: let therefore your Compassion exceed my Offence, and permit at least that this single Residence may continue to those from whom your Predecessors have received formerly many Obligations.

Neri replied, *That he had unhappily placed his Hopes upon People which could do him no good. That he had transgressed so highly against the Republick of Florence that, as things then stood, there was a necessity of yielding up all, and that he must abandon those Places, as he was an Enemy to Florence, which as a Friend he had refused to preserve; for he had given so ill a Testimony and Example of himself that he could not be continued, and in every chance of Fortune had been so Unconstant and Various that they could not have any confidence but that still he would be working to the prejudice of their State, and yet it was not so much him as his Interest they were afraid of. But if he would withdraw into Germany, the Government of Florence would intercede that he might reside there as a Prince, and be a Friend to him, for the Obligations he said they had received from his Ancestors.*

To which the Count answered in great Passion, *That he would be further off the Florentines than so;* and laying aside all further Capitulation (seeing no remedy) the Count delivered up the Town and all his other Concerns to the Florentines; only his Goods, his Wife and Children departed with him, very disconsolate for having lost a Dominion which his Predecessors had enjoyed above 400 Years.

These Successes being known in Florence, were received with

great Joy and Acclamation, both by the Magistrates and People. And because Barnardetto de' Medici found that Nicolo's marching towards Rome or La Marca would be of little importance, he returned with his Forces to Neri; and both of them coming back to Florence, it was resolved that they would be entertained with the highest Honours which could be conferred by that City upon their victorious Members; and accordingly they were received in a Triumphant Manner by the Senate, the Captains of the Parties, and the whole City beside.

BOOK VI.

IT always was (and 'tis reasonable it be) the design and end of all those who make War to enrich themselves and impoverish the Enemy; nor is Conquest and Victory desired upon any other score but to magnifie the one and to depress the other: hence it is that whenever Victory impoverishes or debilitates you, you have either transgressed or fallen short of what you aimed at in the War. That Prince or Commonwealth is enriched by Victory when he extirpateth his Enemy and impropriates the Spoil. On the other side, his Victory impoverishes him when, though he overcomes his Enemy, he cannot utterly extinguish him and the Spoil and Prey is left to the Soldiers. This Prince, this Commonwealth, is unhappy in its Losses, but more in its Victories; for being defeated, it is liable to the injuries of its Enemies; and being victorious, to the contumely of its Friends, which, as they are less reasonable, are less supportable, seeing it is again necessitated to oppress and disgust its Subjects by new Impositions and Taxes: and if there be the least humanity in Government, it cannot rejoice or exult in a Victory which makes all its Subjects sad. The well-governed Commonwealths of old were wont to fill their Bags with Gold and Silver, distribute Donatives, remit Subsidies and Tribute to the People, and solemnize their Victories with Merriment and Feasting; but those of whom we write drained their Exchequer, impoverished the People, and never secured themselves of their Enemies; which proceeded from the Disorders in the management of the War: for having beaten and pillaged the Enemy, they neither kept them Prisoners nor killed them; so that (being incensed) they forbare revenging themselves upon the Conqueror no longer than he which commanded them could recruit them with Horses and Arms; and the Plunder and Ransoms falling to the Soldiers, the Conquerors made no advantage of the Spoils of the Enemy, but were forced to tear their Supplies out of the Bowels of their Subjects. Nothing of benefit occurring

to the People, they were rendered more imperious and cruel in their Taxes. And those Soldiers had brought things to that pass, that both the Conqueror and Conquered (if they intended to preserve their Authority over their Men) were in necessity of more Money, for the one side was to be recruited, the other to be rewarded; and as the one could not fight unless he was newly equipped, so the other would not engage him without Recompence for what was past: from whence it happened that one side had no great joy of its Victory, and the other no great sense of its Loss; for the Conquered had time to recruit, and the Conqueror had none to pursue. This Disorder and perverseness in the Soldier was the reason that Nicolo was recruited and on Horseback again before his Defeat was known through Italy; and sharper War he made upon his Enemies afterwards than he had ever done before. This it was that after this Rout before Brescia enabled him to surprise Verona; this it was that, after he was worsted at Verona, gave him opportunity to invade Tuscany; this it was that, after his loss at Anghiari, recruited him again and made him stronger in the Field (ere he got to Romagna) than he was before, which gave the Duke new hopes of defending Lombardy, though by means of his absence he had looked upon it as lost; for whilst Nicolo was giving the Enemy an Alarm at Tuscany, the Duke of Milan was reduced to a Condition of hazarding all; and therefore apprehending he might be undone before Nicolo (who was sent for) would come to his rescue, to stop the Career of the Count and temper his Fortune by Industry, which he could not do by Force, he had recourse to those Remedies which in the like Case he had many times used, and sent Nicolo da Este, Prince of Ferrara, to Peschiera to the Count, to persuade him in his Name to a Peace, and to remonstrate to him that the prosecution of the War could not turn to his Advantage; for if the Duke should be distressed and unable to maintain his Reputation, the Count would be the first which would suffer by it, by reason the Venetians and Florentines would have no farther occasion, and by Consequence no farther esteem for him; and as a Testimony of the sincerity of his Proposal, the Duke offered to consummate his Marriage, and send his Daughter to Ferrara to be delivered to him as soon as the Peace was concluded. To which the Count replied, that if the Duke did truly desire Peace, he might easily

have it; for the Venetians and Florentines were as much inclined to it as he; but the difficulty would be to persuade them he was in earnest, as knowing he would never have proposed any such thing had not some necessity constrained him, and as soon as that should be removed he would make War upon them again.

As to the business of his Marriage, he could not repose any Confidence in his Promise, having been so often baffled by him before: nevertheless, if everything else were agreed, he should proceed in it as his Friends should advise. The Venetians, who are jealous of their Soldiers where they have no reason to be so, had reason enough to be suspicious here, which the Count being desirous to remove, prosecuted the War with all diligence imaginable; but his Mind was so inflamed with Ambition, and the Venetians so slack and intepidated with Jealousie, little more was done that Summer; so when Nicolo Piccinino returned into Lombardy Winter came on, and the Armies were sent to their Winter Quarters: the Count to Verona, the Duke to Cremona, the Florentines into Tuscany, and the Pope's Army to Romagna; which, after the Battle of Anghiari, assaulted Forli and Bologna in hopes to have taken them from Francesco Piccinino, who kept them from his Father, and defended them so well they could not get them out of his hands. Nevertheless, their coming into those Parts so terrified the People of Ravenna, that to avoid the Domination of the Church, by consent of Ostasio di Potenta, their Lord, they submitted to the Venetian, who (in recompence of his Kindness, that he might never recover by Force what he had given them with so little discretion) sent Ostasio with his only Son to spend their Days in Candia, where they died; in which Expedition his Holiness wanting Money (notwithstanding the Victory of Anghiari), he was glad to sell the Castle of Borgo a San Sepulcro to the Florentines for 25,000 Ducats.

Things being in this posture, and all sides thinking themselves safe as long as it was Winter, all thoughts of Peace were laid aside, especially by the Duke, who thinking himself doubly safe, both in the Season of the Year and the arrival of Nicolo, had therefore broke off his Treaty with the Count a little abruptly, and in great haste rigged out Nicolo again with all Provisions and Accoutrements that were necessary for the War. The Count, having notice of his Preparations, went to Venice to consult the

Senate how Affairs were to be ordered the next Summer. When Nicolo was ready (perceiving the Enemy out of order) he never stayed for the Spring, but in the coldest of the Winter he passed the Adda and Acri, surprized 2000 Horse, and took most of them Prisoners; but that which touched the Count nearest and startled the Venetians was the defection of Cierpellone, one of his principal Officers, who went over to the Duke. The Count had no sooner the News but he left Venice, and coming with all possible speed to Brescia, he found Nicolo retired and gone back to his former station. The Count had no mind, finding the Enemy gone, to follow him at that time, but chose rather to defer till some Advantage should tempt him and give him opportunity to revenge himself: he prevailed therefore with the Venetians to recall the Forces they had in the Florentine Service in Tuscany, and to confer the Command of them upon Micheletto Attendulo, Gattamelata being dead. The Spring being come, Nicolo Piccinino was first in the Field, and besieged Cigmano, a Castle some twelve Miles distant from Brescia; to the Relief of which the Count addressed himself; and betwixt these two Generals the War was managed as formerly. The Count being fearful of Bergamo, went with his Army and encamped before Martinengo, a Castle which (if taken) lay very convenient for the succouring of Bergamo, which City was by Nicolo greatly distressed, who finding he could not easily be disturbed but by the way of Martinengo, had supplied it plentifully with all things, so as the Count was forced to besiege it with all his Army: whereupon Nicolo marched with his Forces where he might most conveniently incommode him, and intrenched himself so strangely the Count could not (without manifest danger) assail him; so that thereby he brought things to that pass that the Besieger was in more Distress than the Besieged, and the Count than the Castle. For the Count could neither keep the Siege for want of Provisions, nor rise for fear of Nicolo's Army, and everybody expected Victory for the Duke and destruction for his Enemy; but Fortune (which never wants ways of favouring her Friends and disobliging her Enemies) brought it about that Nicolo, in confidence of his Victory, was growing so insolent and haughty, that without respect to the Duke or himself, he sent him word that he had served him a long time, and as yet not gained so much

Ground as would bury him when he died: he desired therefore to know what Recompence he was to expect for all his Dangers and Fatigues; for it being now in his Power to make him absolute Master of Lombardy, and to put all his Enemies into his hands, he thought it but reasonable, as he was certain of his Victory, to be secured of his Reward; and therefore he did propose he might have the City of Piacenza made over to him, that when he had tired and worn himself out in his Wars, he might have that Town for his recess; and at the last he took the boldness to threaten the Duke with the quitting his Enterprize if he was not gratified in his Demands. This contumelious and insolent way of Capitulation was so offensive and detestable to the Duke, that he resolved to lose all rather than comply; so that this Arrogance in Nicolo wrought an effect upon him to which the Arms nor the Menaces of the Enemy could never reduce him; and that was, to make Peace with the Count, to whom he sent Guido Buone de Fortona with Proposals of Peace and the Proffer of his Daughter, which was embraced with both Arms by the Count and his Colleagues.

All being privately agreed among themselves, the Duke sent a Message to Nicolo to require him to make a Truce with the Count for a Twelvemonth, pretending his Treasure was low, and had been so exhausted with the War that he could not but prefer a certain Peace before a Victory that was doubtful. Nicolo admired his Resolution, as not able to imagine what should make him reject so glorious a Victory; not in the least suspecting that he boggled at the Remuneration of his Friends, and chose rather to let his Enemies escape; so that not obeying him readily, the Duke was constrained to threaten that, without immediate compliance, he would deliver him up as a Prey for his own Soldiers and his Enemy. Whereupon Nicolo submitted, but with the same Alacrity as one that is forced to forsake both his Country and Friends, complaining and lamenting his Unhappiness, whose Victory over his Enemies was always interrupted either by his Fortune or the Duke. The Truce being made, the Marriage betwixt Madona Bianca and the Count was consummated, and the City of Cremona given to her in Dower: after which the Peace was concluded in November 1441, at which, for the Venetians, Francesco Barbadico and Pagolo Frono; for the Florentines,

Agnolo Acciailo, were present. The Venetians got by this Peace Peschiera, Asola, and Leonata, a Castle belonging to the Marquess of Mantoua.

The Wars in Lombardy being ended, the only part of Italy where there was any Hostility was in the Kingdom of Naples, which not being able to be composed, was the occasion of new Troubles in Lombardy. During the Wars in those Parts Alfonso of Aragon had overrun the whole Kingdom of Naples, and left the King of Rinato nothing at all but the Country about the Metropolis. Whereupon Alfonso, conceiving the Victory already in his hands, resolved whilst he besieged Naples to seize upon Benevento and the rest of the Towns which were yet remaining to the Count in those Countries, supposing it might be done without much danger, the Count himself being employed in Lombardy; and his Design succeeding as easily as he imagined, for he took all his Towns with little or no Opposition. But the News arriving of the Peace in Lombardy, Alfonso began to apprehend lest the Count (to recover what he had lost) should join with Rinato; and Rinato being of the same opinion, sent to invite and solicite the Count that he would come and revenge himself of his Enemy by relieving his Friend. On the other side, Alfonso was as earnest with the Duke, that in respect of the Friendship which was betwixt them, he would give the Count some Diversion, and by employing him in greater Affairs, enforce him from undertaking of this. Philippo entertained the Motion very readily, not considering it intrenched upon that Peace which not long before he had concluded with so much prejudice to himself: he caused therefore to be signified to the Pope Eugenius that then was the time to recover the Towns which the Count had taken from the Churches; and for his easier Success, he proffered him Nicolo Piccinino (who was in his Pay) during the War, but discharged upon the Peace, and was at that time in Romagna with his Forces. The Pope received the Proposition very joyfully upon a double account, both as he hated Francesco and desired his own; and though he had been cheated by Nicolo once before, yet now the Duke interposing, he could not suspect him in the least. Joining his forces therefore with Nicolo's, he marched into La Marca. The Count being much alarmed at the News, got what strength together he could, and went to encounter them.

In the meantime Alfonso took Naples, and all that Kingdom fell into his hands except Castelnuovo. Rinato having left a strong Garrison in Castelnuovo, went away himself for Florence, where he was most honourably received; but finding he was not able to continue the War, he stayed there but some certain Days, and away he passed to Marsilia; during which time Alfonso had taken Castelnuovo and the Count was got into La Marca, but not so strong as the Pope and Nicolo: wherefore he addressed himself to the Venetian and Florentine for Assistance both of Men and Money; representing to them that unless they now looked upon them, and did something to restrain the Pope and Alfonso, whilst he was in being, afterwards they would have enough to do to secure themselves, for they might join with Duke Philip and divide all Italy betwixt them. For some time both Venetian and Florentine suspended their Answer, either because they were unwilling to make his Holiness and Alfonso their Enemies, or else because their hands were already full in Bologna. Hannibal Bentivoglio had driven Francesco Piccinino out of that City; and to enable himself to defend it against the Duke (who was a Favourer of Francesco), he had desired the Assistance of the Venetians and Florentines, and they now denied it. Whilst the Affairs in Bologna were in this manner uncertain, they could not resolve to give the Count their assistance; but Hannibal defeating Francesco afterwards, so that all things seemed to be composed, they then concluded to supply him. Yet, first, to secure themselves against the Duke, they renewed the League with him, to which the Duke was not averse; for though he had consented to the War against the Count whilst Rinato was in the Field, yet now Rinato was routed and his whole Kingdom taken from him, he had no mind the Count should be destroyed likewise; and to that end he not only consented to the Aid which they desired, but he writ to Alfonso to draw his Forces back again into Naples, and not to prosecute the War there any longer; to which, although Alfonso was very unwilling, yet in respect of his Obligations to the Duke, he quietly consented, and drew off his Army to the other side of Trento.

Whilst Things were in this posture in Romagna, the Florentines were not unanimous at home. Among the Citizens of chiefest Reputation and Authority in that Government, Neri, the

Son of Gino Capponi, was one, of whose Interest Cosimo de' Medici was most particularly jealous, in respect of the great vogue he had both in the City and Army. For having a long time had the Command of the Florentine Forces, he had gained them exceedingly by his Courage and Deportment; besides, the many great Services performed by him and his Father (the Father having taken Pisa and the Son defeated Nicolo at the Battle of Anghiari) were fresh upon the memory, and caused him to be beloved by most People, but dreaded by such as were fearful of more Companions in their Government. Amongst other of their principal Officers, there was one Baldaccio d' Anghiari, an excellent Soldier, not to be surpassed either for Courage or Conduct in all Italy at that time. Having always commanded their Foot, he had gained so great influence upon them that it was generally believed with him they would undertake any Enterprize whatever, whenever he desired them. This Baldaccio was a great lover of Neri, of whose Bravery and Prudence he had all along been a Witness, which to the rest of the Grandees gave great occasion of Suspicion; and thinking with themselves that to let him alone would be dangerous, but to imprison him much more, they resolved to make him away, and Fortune effected it. Bartolomeo Orlandini was at that time Gonfaloniere di Giustitia, who having been sent to keep the Pass at Marradi (as was said before) when Nicolo Piccinino made his inroad into Tuscany, had most basely deserted it, and exposed a Country which was almost inaccessible of itself. Baldaccio was so much provoked, or rather ashamed at his Cowardice, that he spake slightly of him, and writ several Letters expressing his Cowardice; which Bartolomeo resenting highly, and being conscious it was true, he resolved to be revenged and expiate his own Fault with the Death of his Accuser. His resolution being known to other of his Enemies, they encouraged him to proceed, and at one blow to revenge himself for the Injury he had received, and deliver the State from a Person they could neither retain without Danger nor dismiss without Ruin. Having fixed upon his way, Bartolomeo shut up several armed Men one day in the Chamber; and Baldaccio being come to the Piazza (as he constantly did) to discourse with the Magistrates and require Orders for his Conduct, the Gonfaloniere sent to speak with him, and he presently

obeyed. Seeing him coming, the Gonfaloniere went to meet him, and entertained him about his Affairs three or four turns in the Senator's Chamber; but at length having drilled him near the Chamber where his Ambush was laid, he gave the Signal, and all of them rushing upon him (who was alone and without Arms), they killed him, and threw him out of the Palace-window, which looks towards the Dogana; and then cutting off his Head and carrying his Trunk into the Piazza, they left it there all day as a Spectacle for the People. He had only one Son by his Wife Annalena, which living not long after him, Annalena deprived both of Husband and Child, and resolving to have no further Conversation with Man, she made a Monastery of her House, and shutting herself up with several other Noble Persons which came to her to that purpose, she spent the remainder of her Days there in great Piety and Devotion, calling the Monastery by her own Name, and immortalizing her Memory both by the one and the other. This Action was no small diminution to Neri, and took away a considerable part of his Reputation and Friends: yet it did not satisfie the Contrivers, for having been more than ten Years at the Helm, the Authority of the Balia expired, and everybody began to talk and act with more freedom than they thought convenient, they judged it necessary to revive that Court, for the encouragement of their Friends and the depression of their Enemies. Hereupon, in the Year 1444, the Councils created a new Balia, which re-established the Offices, contracted the number of the Officers which were to chuse the Senators, renewed the Chancery of Reformation, removing Philippo Peruzzi out of the Chancellorship, and putting one into his place who they believed would be governed by them. They prolonged the Banishment of those that were refractory, imprisoned Giovanni, the Son of Simone Vespucci, degraded the Accopiatori, as Enemies to the State, and with them the Sons of Piero Baroncelli, all the Serogli, Bartolomeo, Francesco Castellani, and several others, by which means they procured great Reputation and Authority to themselves, and no little Prejudice and Disparagement to their Enemies; and having settled themselves at home in the Government, they began to look about and inquire how things were managed abroad.

Nicolo Piccinino (as we said before), being abandoned by

Alfonso, and the Count, by the assistance of the Florentines, become formidably powerful, he assaulted Nicolo not far from Fermo, and gave him so great a defeat that Nicolo was glad to fly (almost alone) to Montecchio, where he fortified himself so well and defended himself so bravely that in a short time his whole Army repaired to him again, and putting him into a Condition of supporting easily against the Count; and the rather, because Winter being come, both of them were constrained to send their Armies into Quarters. All Winter long Nicolo was employed in increasing his Army, which was much furthered by the assistance of the Pope and Alfonso; insomuch that when the Spring appeared and both Armies took the Field, the Count was much too weak for Nicolo, and indeed brought to that extremity of Want that he must of necessity have been ruined had not the Duke frustrated the advantage which Nicolo had got over him. Philip sent to Nicolo to desire he would come presently to him, for he must needs speak personally with him about Business of very great importance; and Nicolo, being greedy to know it, left his command to his Son Francesco, and went to Milan to the Duke, relinquishing a certain Victory for an uncertain Reward; which being perceived by the Count, he thought that occasion of engaging the Son in his Father's absence was not to be slipped; and coming to a Fight with him near the Castle di Monteloro, he overthrew Francesco and took him Prisoner.

Nicolo arriving at Milan, finding himself deluded by the Duke and understanding the Defeat and Imprisonment of his Son, he took it to heart, and died with Sorrow 1445, in the sixty-fourth Year of his Age; a more brave than fortunate General. He left only two Sons, Francesco and Giacopo, whose Conduct was less and Fortune worse than their Father's, so that the Disciples of Bracio were almost extinct, whilst the Sforzeschan, being more successful, became more glorious. The Pope understanding Nicolo was dead and his Army overthrown (not daring to rely much upon the King of Aragon's Supplies), desired a Peace of the Count, and obtained it by the Mediation of the Florentines, by which the Pope was to have, in La Marca, Osimo, Fabriano, and Ricanato restored, and all the rest were to remain to the Count. After this Accommodation in La Marca all Italy had been quiet had not the Bolognesi disturbed it. There were two

super-eminent Families in Bologna, the Canneschi and the Bentivogli; Hannibal was the head of the latter, and Battista of the first. To beget the greater Confidence betwixt them, many Matches had been made; but among Men that aspire to the same degree of Greatness, an Alliance is sooner made than a Friendship. Bologna was in League with the Venetians and Florentines, which League was made by Hannibal Bentivogli's means, after Francesco Piccinino was expelled. Battista understanding how earnestly the Duke desired the Friendship of that City, contrived how he might kill Hannibal and deliver that City to the Duke; and having concluded the Circumstances on the 24th of June 1445, Battista and his Accomplices set upon Hannibal and slew him, and when they had done declared themselves for the Duke. The Venetian and Florentine Commissaries were at the same time in the Town, and at the first report of the Tumult returned privately to their Houses; but finding the People thronging in great numbers in the Market-place, complaining and exclaiming against the Murderers of Hannibal they took Courage, joined themselves with them, and putting them into a posture, they fell upon the Canneschi, and in half an hour's time routed them, killed part of them, and drove the rest out of the City. Battista, not having opportunity to get away nor his Enemies to kill him, betook himself to his House, where hiding himself in a Chest or Bing to keep Corn in, they searched for him a whole day, and could not discover him. Being assured he was not gone out of Town, they came back again, and threatened his Servants so that one of his Lacqueys betrayed him, and carried them to him; then drawing him out of his hole in Armour as he was, they killed him, and dragged him about the Streets and burned him: so that the Victory of the Duke was sufficient to encourage that Enterprize, but his expedition in relieving it was not great enough to make it good. By the death of Battista and the expulsion of the Canneschi their Tumults were composed; but the Bolognesi remained in no little confusion, there being none of the Family of the Bentivoglios left to govern them; for Hannibal had only one Son, of about six Years old, called Giovanni; and it was feared lest some Difference and Division might arise betwixt the Friends of Bentivoglio (in whose power it was to restore the Canneschi), to the destruction of their Party and Country.

Whilst they were in this suspence, the Conte di Poppi being by accident in Bologna, sent word to the Principal of the City, that if they would be governed by one of Hannibal's Blood he could direct them where they might find one; for about twenty Years since, Hercules, a Cousin-German of Hannibal's, being at Poppi, had the enjoyment of a young Maid in that Town, who was brought to bed afterwards of a Son called Santi, which Hercules affirmed to him many times was his; nor was it to be denied, for whoever knew them both must needs own a more than ordinary Resemblance. The Citizens, giving credit to what he said, dispatched some of their Citizens to Florence immediately to see the Youth, and to desire Neri and Cosimo that he might be delivered to them. The reputed Father of Santi was dead, and the Son lived with an Uncle called Antonio da Cascese, a rich Man, without Children of his own, and a great Friend of Neri's. Neri, out of respect to his Uncle, thinking the Business not to be despised, nor, on the other side, rashly accepted, proposed that Santi might be sent for, and that in the presence of Cosimo and the Bolognian Ambassadors, they might hear what he could say for himself. He was sent for accordingly, and behaved himself so well the Bolognesi were ready to worship him, so strangely prevalent sometimes is the love of a Faction: yet there was nothing concluded at this Meeting, only Cosimo took Santi aside and told him:—

Nobody can counsel you better in this Case than yourself, because you may follow your own Inclination. If you be the Son of Hercules Bentivogli, you will apply yourself to such things as are worthy and suitable to the Honour of that House; but if you be the Son of Agnalo de Cascese, you will continue in Florence, and spend the rest of your Days basely in the ordering of Wool.

This Speech nettled the young Man; and whereas before he seemed to be irresolute, he now declared he would refer himself wholly to Cosimo and Neri, and do as they directed him; and (it being agreed with the Ambassadors) Clothes and Horses were bought and Equipage provided, and a while after being honourably conducted to Bolonia, he was made Governor both of Hannibal's Son and the City; which Office he executed so well, that whereas all his Predecessors were killed by their Enemies, he lived quietly all his time, and died lamented at last.

After the death of Nicolo and the Peace concluded in La Marca, Philip, wanting a new General to command his Army, made private Overtures to Cierpellone, one of the most experienced Officers in the Count's Army; and at last coming to an Agreement, Cierpellone desired leave of the Count to go to Milan and take possession of certain Castles which Philip had given him in the late Wars. The Count suspecting the business, (to disappoint the Duke and prevent his serving against him) he caused him first to be stopped, and afterwards to be killed, pretending to have found him engaged in Conspiracy against him, at which manner of proceeding the Duke was highly incensed, but the Venetians and the Florentines were pleased well enough, as apprehending the least amity betwixt the Count and the Duke. However, this Indignity set all La Marca in an uproar, and was the occasion of new War there. Gismondo Malatesti was Lord of Rimini, and being Son-in-Law to the Count, he expected to have had the Government of Pesaro; but the Count having reduced it, gave the Command of it to his Brother, which Gismondo took very ill; and, to make it the worse, his mortal Enemy, Frederico di Monte Feltro, by the Count's means, had usurped the Dominion of Urbino. Upon these Provocations Gismondo joined himself with the Duke, and solicited the Pope and the King of Naples to make War upon the Count, who to give his Son-in-Law a relish of the War, to which he had such a mind, resolved to begin and to fall first upon him; whereupon the Countries of Romagna and La Marca were in a tumult immediately, for Philip, the King of Naples, and the Pope sent all of them Assistance to Gismondo, and the Venetians and Florentines (though they sent him no Men) supplied the Count with what Monies he wanted. Philip, not content to make War against him in Romagna only, designed to deprive him of Cremona and Pontremoli; but Pontremoli was defended for him by the Florentines and Cremona by the Venetians: so that the War was received again in Lombardy; and many Troubles ensued in the Country of Cremona, among which the Duke's General, Francesco Piccinino, was overthrown at Casale by Micheletto and the Venetian Army; and the Venetians, conceiving hopes thereupon of deposing the Duke, sent their Commissary to Cremona, assaulted Ghiaradadda, and took all that Country except Cre-

mona itself; and then passing the Adda, they made their Excursions to the very Walls of Milan. The Duke, not satisfied with his Condition, applied himself to Alfonso, King of Aragon, for succour, representing the ill Consequences which would follow upon his Dominions in Naples if Lombardy should fall into the Hands of the Venetians. Alfonso promised to send him Supplies, but their passage would be difficult without the permission of the Count. Upon which Consideration Duke Philip addressed himself to the Count, and begged of him that he would not abandon the Father-in-Law, who was both aged and blind. The Count was much offended with the Duke for having pulled those Wars upon him; and on the other side, the greatness of the Venetians did not please him at all. Besides, his Money was gone, and the League supplied him but coldly; for the Florentines were now freed from their apprehensions of the Duke, which was the great cause of their caressing the Count; and the Venetians desired his ruin, as the only Person capable of carrying the whole State of Lombardy from them.

Nevertheless, whilst Philip was seducing him to his side, and promised him the Command of all his Forces, upon a Condition he would leave the Venetians and restore La Marca to the Pope, they sent Ambassadors to him promising him Milan when it was taken and the Generalship of their Army *in perpetuum*, so he would prosecute the War in La Marca and obstruct the Supplies which were sending by Alfonso into Lombardy. The Venetian Proffers were great, and his Obligations to them considerable, they having made that War on purpose to secure Cremona to the Count. Again, the Duke's Injuries were fresh and his Promises not to be trusted, yet the Count remained doubtful which he should accept: his obligation to the League, his Faith given, the late good Offices which they had done him, and their many Promises for the future were great Arguments on one side; yet he was loth, on the other side, to deny the Importunities of his Father-in-Law. But that which swayed with him most of all was the Poison which he suspected was hid under the Promises of the Venetians, to whose discretion he must leave himself (if he succeeded in their Wars), both for their Performance and his own Preservation; which no wise Prince would ever do till necessity compelled him. But this suspence and

difficulty of Resolution in the Count was taken away by the Venetians, who, having a design by some Practices and Intelligences in the Town to get it for themselves, upon some other pretence they caused their Forces to march into those Parts; but their Plot was discovered by him that governed there for the Count, and, instead of gaining Cremona, they lost the Count, who laid aside all Respects and joined with the Duke.

Pope Eugenius was dead, Nicolo V. created his Successor, and the Count advanced with his whole Army to Cotegnola, in order to his passage in Lombardy, when news was brought to him that Duke Philip was dead, which happened in the Year 1447, on the last of August. These Tidings much troubled the Count, whose Army could not be in good order, because they had not had their full Pay. The Venetians he feared, as being in Arms and his professed Enemies, now upon the revolt to the Duke. Alfonso had been always his Enemy, and he was fearful of him. He could have no confidence in either the Pope or the Florentines, for the Florentines were in League with the Venetians, and he was in possession of several Towns which he had taken from the Pope. However, he resolved to bear up bravely, look his Fortune in the face, and comport himself according to the Accidents which should occur; for many times Secrets are discovered in Action which Dejection and Despondency would have concealed for ever. It was no little support to him to believe that if the Milanesi were oppressed, or that, jealous of the Ambition of the Venetian, no Man was so proper for them to apply to for protection as himself. So that, taking Courage thereupon, he marched into the Country of Bologna, and from thence passing by Modena and Reggio, he encamped upon the Lenza and sent to the Milanesi to offer them his Service. The Milanesi, after the Duke's death, were divided into Factions; part of them had a mind to be free and part of them to live under a Prince; and those which were for a Prince, part were for the Count and part for Alfonso: but they which were for a Commonwealth, being more unanimous, prevailed and erected a Republick according to their own Model, to which many of the Cities in that Dukedom refused to conform, supposing they might make themselves free as well as Milan, if they pleased, and those who were not inclined to that Government would not submit to it in them.

Lodi and Piacenza therefore surrendered to the Venetian; Pavia and Parma made themselves free. Upon which Confusions the Count removed to Cremona, where certain Deputies of his to that purpose met with certain Commissioners from Milan, and came to an Agreement, by which it was agreed that he should be General of their Forces, and all Conditions performed to him which were concluded in his last Treaty with the Duke; to which was superadded that Brescia should be put into the Count's hands, till he should be possessed of Verona, and that then, keeping the last, the first should be restored.

Before the Death of the Duke, Pope Nicolo, upon his assumption to that Chair, endeavoured to make a general Peace betwixt all the Princes of Italy; and to that purpose he negotiated with the Florentine Ambassadors, which were sent to his Creation, for a Diet to be held at Ferrara, to treat either of a long Cessation or a firm Peace, and accordingly the Pope's Legate was met there by Commissioners from the Venetians, the Duke, and the Florentines. Alfonso sent none, for he was at Tivoli with a great Army in favour of the Duke, and believed (as soon as the Count could be debauched from them) he should have a fair opportunity to fall upon both the Venetian and Florentine. In the meantime the Count lay still in Lombardy, attending the consummation of the Peace; to which Alfonso would not send, but promised to ratifie what should be agreed by the Duke. This Peace was a long time in debate, but at length it was concluded it should either be a Cessation for five Years or a perpetual Peace, as the Duke of Milan should chuse. The Duke's Commissioners returning to know his Resolution, they found him dead. However, the Milanesi were willing to stand to their Agreement, but the Venetians would not condescend, fancying great hopes to themselves of overrunning that State, because Lodi and Piacenza had submitted to them soon after the Death of the Duke, and believing either by Treaty or Force they should be able to reduce the rest before anybody could come in to their relief; and this they fancied the rather because the Florentines were engaged in a war with Alfonso. Alfonso was at this time at Tivoli, and being impatient to pursue his Designs upon Tuscany (according to Agreement betwixt him and the Duke), conceiving the War already commenced in Lombardy would give him convenience

he had a great mind to have some footing in the State of Florence before the War should apparently break out. To that purpose he entered into correspondence with some Persons in the Castle of Cennina, in the upper Val d' Arno, and took it. The Florentines were much surprized at so unexpected an Accident, and seeing the King in motion against them, they lifted Men, created a new Council of Ten, and provided themselves for War with as much industry as any of their Predecessors. The King was marched already with his Army into the Country of Siena, and had used his utmost endeavours to get that City into his clutches; but it continued firm to the Florentines, refused to admit him, and all the rest of the Towns under its Jurisdiction did the same. Yet they furnished him with Provisions, their weakness and the King's great strength excusing it.

The King's Resolution was changed of invading the Florentines by the way of the Val d' Arno, either because Cennina was taken from him again, or that the Florentines were too well furnished with Soldiers in those Parts; wherefore he turned towards Volterra, and surprized many Castles in the Country belonging thereto. From thence he passed into the Country of Pisa, where, by the assistance of Arrigo and Fazio (Counts of Gherardesca), he took some Posts, and then assaulted Campiglia, which, being defended by the Florentines, he was not able to carry; so that the King, leaving Garrisons in the Places he had taken, and certain Troops to make Excursions upon the Enemy, with the rest of his Army retired and took his Quarters in the Country of Siena. The Florentines in the meantime being secured by the season of the Year, provided themselves with Soldiers with all possible care, and gave the command of them to Federigo, Lord of Urbino, and Gismondo Malatesta da Rimini, betwixt whom there was some precedent difference; yet it was so prudently composed by Neri de Gino and Barnardetto de Medici, their Commissaries, that they took the Field together before the Winter was over, recovered the Places lost in the Country of Pisa, and the Pomerancie in the Volterran, curbing and restraining his Excursions of those who were left by Alfonso upon the Coasts, so as they were scarce able to secure their Garrisons. As soon as the Spring was come the Commissaries had a Rendezvous of all their Army (which consisted of about 5000 Horse and 2000

Foot, at Spedalletto; and the King had another, of about 15,000, some three Miles from Campiglia; and when it was supposed he would have fallen upon that Town, he turned about to Piombino, believing it would be no hard matter to gain it, in respect that it was but indifferently provided; and if he did, it would be no little prejudice to the Florentines, seeing from thence he could harass them with a tedious War, and by sending Forces there by Sea, infest the whole Country of Pisa. This Policy of Alfonso's startled the Florentines, and consulting what was to be done, it was concluded that if they could lie with their Army upon the Coasts of Campiglia, he would run a hazard of being beaten, or be forced to draw off with no little Disgrace. To this purpose they rigged out four Galliasses which they had at Ligorn, and sent 3000 Foot in them to reinforce Piombino, and then posted themselves at Caldane, a Place of no easy access; for to lie upon the Coasts in the Plain, they judged it more dangerous and more subject to Attacks. The Florentines were to be supplied from the neighbouring Towns, which being thin and but ill-inhabited, they were but indifferently furnished, so that the Army was much incommoded, especially for Wine; for none growing there, and coming with great difficulty from other Parts, it was not possible to provide for them all. But the King (though straitened by the Florentines) had plenty of all things by the way of the Sea. The Florentines perceiving it, had a mind to try Experiment whether their Forces could not be supplied by Sea likewise; whereupon they caused their Galliasses to be brought, loaded them with Victuals, and having dispatched them accordingly, they were set upon by seven of Alfonso's Gallies, and two of them taken, and the other two fled. This disaster cut off all hopes of relieving that way; so that 200 of the looser sort of Soldiers ran away to the King's Camp for want of Wine, and the rest mutinied, grumbling that they should be confined to so hot Places where there was no Wine and the Water very bad. Hereupon the Commissaries took it into debate, and it was concluded that they should leave that Post and address themselves to the recovery of certain Castles which remained in the hands of the King.

On the other side, the King, though he wanted no Provision and was more numerous in Men, found himself no less distressed; for his Army was full of the Diseases which those Maritime

Countries do produce; they were grown so general and fierce, that many Men died and most of them were sick. Upon this consideration, a Peace was proposed, and the King insisted upon 50,000 Florins, and that Piombino might be left to his discretion. Which Demands being deliberated at Florence, many who desired Peace were earnest to have them accepted, affirming they could not expect success in a War which required so vast an Expence to maintain it: but Neri Capponi going to Florence, gave them such pregnant Reasons to the contrary that the whole City agreed to refuse them, and the Governor of Piombino was well entertained, and promised to be relieved both in time of War and Peace, if he would defend it courageously as he had hitherto done. The King having notice of their Resolution, and perceiving his Army too sickly and infirm to take the Place, he brake abruptly from his Siege, left above 2000 of his Men dead behind him, retreated with the rest of his Army through the Country of Siena, and from thence into the Kingdom of Naples, highly dissatisfyed with the Florentines, and threatening them with a new War when occasion offered.

Whilst these things passed in Tuscany, the Count Francesco being made General for the Milanesi, thought fit, before anything else, to reconcile himself with Francesco Piccinino (who had a Command likewise under him), that he might assist him in his Enterprizes, or at least oppose them with more circumstances of Respect: after which he took the Field with his Army; and the Citizens of Pavia, suspecting their own Ability to defend themselves against so formidable a Force, and yet unwilling to bring themselves under the Yoke of the Milanesi, they offered to surrender to him, upon condition they might not fall under their Domination. The Count had a great mind to that City, and looked upon it as a fine initiation and pretence to the rest of his Designs. Nor was it Fear, or the imputation of breaking his Faith, that restrained him from taking it; for Great Men think it dishonourable for to lose, but none to gain, though with Fraud and Injustice. His great Doubt was lest in taking it he should disoblige the Milanesi, so as they should give themselves to the Venetians; and in not taking it he was jealous they should surrender to the Duke of Savoy, to which he saw too many of the Citizens inclined; in either of which Cases his Authority in

Lombardy would be lost. At length judging it less danger to take that City himself than to let another Man get it, he resolved to accept it, persuading himself it would satisfie the Milanesi to let them know how fatal it might have been for him to have refused it, seeing those Citizens would certainly have delivered it to the Venetian or the Duke of Savoy, either of which ways their State had been undone; and that it was better in his possession, who was their Friend, than in either of theirs, both of them being too potent, and both of them their Enemies. The Milanesi, for all his Compliments, were much unsatisfied with the Business, as plainly discovering the Ambition and Ends of the Man; but they thought best at present to conceal it, not knowing whither they were to betake themselves (upon a Rupture with the Count) but to the Venetians, whose Pride and arrogant Terms they dreaded and abhorred: so that they concluded not to break with the Count, but to obviate their present Miseries with his assistance, hoping when they were freed from the former, some propitious opportunity might happen to quit them of him; for they were not only infested by the Venetians, but by the Genoeses and the Duke of Savoy, in the name of Charles of Orleans, descended from a Sister of Philip's; but the Count defended all against them without any trouble. Their greatest Adversary was the Venetian, who was come near with a powerful Army to seize upon their State, and had Lodi and Piacenza already in their possession; which last the Count beleaguered, and after a long Siege took it and sacked it. After he had recovered that City, Winter coming on, he drew his Army into Quarters and went himself to Cremona, where he entertained himself with his Wife. But as soon as the Spring appeared, the Venetian and Milanesi were both in the Field. The Milanesi had a great desire to retake Lodi, and afterwards to come to an Agreement with the Venetian; for the expence of the War was increased and the fidelity of the Count suspected. In order to this, it was resolved their Army would march to Caravaggio and besiege it, supposing that upon the taking of that Castle Lodi would surrender. The Count obeyed their Orders, though his own Inclination was to have passed the Adda and invaded the Country of Brescia. Being set down before Caravaggio, he inrenched and fortified his Army so well with Ditches and Ram-

parts that the Venetians could not attempt to relieve it without great disadvantage.

However the Venetians advanced with their Army, under the Command of their General, Micheletto, within two flights' shot of the Count's Camp, continued there several Days, and had many Skirmishes with them. Notwithstanding, the Count persisted in his Siege, and prest them so hard they must of necessity surrender. The Venetians believing the loss of that Castle would be the loss of their whole Enterprize, were much dissatisfied with the News; and calling a Council, after many Disputes it was concluded there was no way but to attack the Count in his Trenches, which was not to be done without great disadvantage; but the Senate of Venice, though naturally timorous and not apt to any sudden or dangerous Resolutions, was in this case so much transported as rather to venture all than lose that, though the loss of that would be the ruin of all. It was concluded therefore to fall upon the Count, and standing to their Arms one Morning very early, they assaulted that part of the Camp which was the weakest guarded, and (as it usually happens in such Surprizes as that) at the very first onslaught they put the whole Sforzescan Army into disorder. But the Count so rallied them again that after many Attempts and Eruptions upon their Works, they were not only repulsed, but so shattered and dispersed that of their whole Army (in which there were more than 12,000 Horse) there were not above 1000 escaped, and their whole Baggage and Train of Artillery taken; so that never till that Day had the Venetians received so considerable a Defeat.

Among the rest of the Prey and Prisoners there was found a Venetian Proveditore, who before the Battle had spoken opprobrious Words of the Count, calling him Bastard and Coward. This Proveditore, finding himself in the hands of his Enemies, being conscious of his Offence, and expecting no otherwise but that his Reward would be suitable according to the Nature of base Spirits (who are always insolent in Prosperity and poor and abject in Adversity), throwing himself with Tears at the Feet of the Count, he acknowledged his Fault and beseeched his Pardon. The Count took him up by the Arm and bade him be of good Courage; but afterwards he told him he could not but wonder a Person of Prudence and that Gravity as he desired to be thought should

commit so great an Error and Indecorum as to speak reproachfully of those who did not deserve it. As to Bastardy he accused him of, he knew not the Passages betwixt Sforza, his Father, and Madonna Lucia, his Mother; for not being then present, he was not able to order them better, and therefore he did hope nothing which they did could be imputable to him. But this he knew, that since he had been capable of anything himself, he had carried himself so as nobody could reprehend him: to which both he and his Senate could give fresh and irrefragable Testimony. At last he admonished him to be more modest for the future, to have more caution in all his Enterprizes, and then he dismissed him. After this Victory the Count marched his Army into the Country of Brescia, possessed himself of all wherever he came, and then encamped within two Miles of the City. The Venetians, upon their overthrow, suspecting (as it happened) that Brescia would be the first thing the Count would attempt, reinforced it as much as in so short a time they were able, got what Forces they could together with all imaginable diligence, and sent to the Florentines to desire their Assistance by virtue of their League, who being freed from their War with Alfonso, supplied them with 1000 Foot and 2000 Horse: with which Forces having got an Army together, the Venetians began to think they were in a Condition to treat; and for a long time it had been the Custom and Fate of the Venetians to recover twice as much by Peace as they lost by the War. They understood very well the Milanesi were jealous of the Count, whose design was not so much to be their General as their Prince; they knew it was in their own power to make Peace with which of them they pleased, for both of them desired it; one out of Ambition, the other for Fear. They concluded at last to compose with the Count, and to proffer him their Assistance for the Subduction of Milan, presuming that the Milanesi, finding themselves betrayed by the Count, in their Fury would submit to any Dominion but his; and then they being most capable of defending them, were the most likely to be the Persons they would choose for their protection.

Upon this Resolution they sent to try the Count, and found him very inclinable to a Peace, as desiring the Victory at Caravaggio might be appropriated to him, and not to the Milanese.

A Peace therefore was struck up, and the Venetians obliged themselves to pay to the Count (till Milan should be taken) 13,000 Florins a Month, and maintain in his Service 4000 Horse and 2000 Foot during the War. The Count, on the other side, engaged to restore to them all the Towns, Prisoners, and whatever else had been taken in that War by him, reserving to himself only such Towns as were in Duke Philip's possession when he died. The news of this Agreement disquieted the Milanesi much more than their Victory had rejoiced them. The Magistrates stormed, the People complained, the Women and Children lamented, all of them in one Chorus pronouncing the Count a Traitor and an Infidel. And though they did not expect to reclaim him from his Ingratitude by any Prayers and Promises they could make him, nevertheless they thought fit to send Ambassadors to him, to see with what Confidence and Expressions he could receive them after such barbarous Disloyalty; and being brought into his presence, one of them spake to him to this Effect:—

Those who desire to obtain anything of other People are wont to accost them with Prayers, or Promises, or Threats, that either their Compassion, or Profit, or Poverty might move them to condescend; but in Men that are cruel, and covetous, and prepossest with their own Greatness and Authority, there being no room for either of the three, 'tis in vain for any Man to think to mitigate them with Prayers, to oblige them with Promises, or to fright them with Threats. We therefore, understanding (though too late) your Cruelty, your Ambition, and your Insolence, are come hither, not to beg anything of you (for if we did, we are sensible it would not be granted), but to commemorate and charge you with the Benefits you have received from the People of Milan, and to remonstrate with what Ingratitude you have requited them, that among the many Miseries which you have brought upon us, we may have at least the pleasure to reprehend you for them. You ought to remember your Condition after the Death of the Duke; you were at Hostility with the Pope and King Alfonso; you were discarded by the Venetians and the Florentines, who, upon some just and late Provocation, or else finding you useless, were become (as it were) your Enemies; you were tired and weary of the War you had maintained against the Church; you were left without Men, without Money, without Friends, desperate of preserving your own, much more of gaining

from others; under which Exigencies of necessity you must have sunk had not our Innocence and Plain-heartedness supported you. We, we were they who received you into our Arms, moved by the Reverence we retained for the Memory of our Duke, with whom you had entered into so near and so late an Alliance; presuming (and, as we thought, with reason) that the Love you profest to him would have been extended to his People, and that our Rewards being added to his, the Amity betwixt us would not only have been firm, but indissolvable; and for that cause, to your old Articles with the Duke we threw in Verona and Brescia. What could we give or promise you more? and you, what could you have (or indeed ask) more of us or anybody else at that time? You received from us a Kindness you could not look for; and we, in recompence, have received a Mischief we never deserved. Nor was this the first instance of your Falsehood, for no sooner were you in possession of the Command of our Army but, against all Justice and Obligation, you received Pavia into your hands; which, indeed, gave us the first hint of what was to be expected from your Friendship. However, we swallowed that Injury, in hopes such an Acquest as that might have satiated your Ambition. But, alas! those who must have all will not be satisfied with a part. You promised that all your Conquests afterwards should be ours, because you knew what you should give us at several times you could take from us at once: this is verified since your Victory at Caravaggio, which, though won with the expence of our Treasure and Blood, is by your baseness perverted to our ruin. Oh! unhappy are those Cities who are constrained to defend their Liberty against such as invade them, but much more unhappy are they who in their defence are inforced to employ such mercenary and such treacherous Instruments as you. May we be Example to Posterity, though Thebes and the King of Macedon could be no warning to us, who having beaten their Enemies, was made their General by them, and their Prince afterwards by himself. We are not therefore to be condemned for anything but our Confidence in you, whose past Life and insatiable Appetite of Dominion ought to have taught us better than to have trusted a Person which betrayed the Prince of Lucca, squeezed the Florentines and the Venetians, disrespected the Duke, despised a King, and committed several Injuries (above all) both against God and the Church. And indeed we had no reason to believe that so many Princes and Potentates should be of less

Authority with Francesco Sforza than the Milanesi, or that he would be just in his Engagements to us when he had broke them with everybody else. But our Indiscretion cannot excuse your Treachery, nor clear you of that Infamy which our just and deplorable Complaints will fix upon you all the World over. Nor can anything secure you against the Stings and Compunctions of your own Conscience; for inverting those Arms which we had provided for our defence against our own Liberty and Freedom, you cannot think anything so proper for you as the Reward of a Parricide. And if yet your incontroulable Ambition should blind you, the Evidence the whole World will give of your Impiety will open your Eyes, and God Himself will open them, if either Perjury, or Falsehood, or Treason do offend Him; or if in His divine Providence, for some occult good, He sees it fit to forbear it, and to show Himself to us a favourer of ill Men. Do not therefore delude yourself with the assurance of Victory; the just Anger of God will oppose you; and we are resolved to lose Lives and Liberties together: and if it so fall out that we should be constrained to submit, there is no Prince in Italy but we will choose before you; and if our Sins be so great as to pull down the greatest Misery in the World upon our heads and force us into your Hands, be assured that Dominion which you begin with Infamy and Fraud will end in the Destruction of you or your Children.

The Count was nettled by every part of the Speech, yet without any extraordinary Commotion in either Gesture or Words, he made them this Answer :—

That being injured so highly as they thought themselves, he would bear with the Indiscretion of their Language; though to Persons capable of judging betwixt them, there was nothing that they had charged him with which he could not easily repel. He could make it appear that he had not injured the Milanesi, but secured himself only against their Intelligence and Designs. That if they reflected upon their Carriage after the Battle of Caravaggio, they would find that, instead of rewarding him with Verona and Brescia, as they had contracted, they were underhand negotiating a Peace with the Venetians, that the burden and scandal of the War might be left upon his Shoulders, whilst they ran away with the Profits of it and the Honour of the Peace: so that if they looked impartially into the matter they would find he had done nothing but what they

had endeavoured before; and that if he had deferred to do it so long, the more they were obliged to him, and with the more justice he might retort Ingratitude upon them. That as to the truth or falsity of what was on either side alledged, the end of the War would make it appear in which that God which they had so solemnly invocated to revenge them would demonstrate which of the two was most tender of displeasing Him, and which with most Equity He opposed.

The Ambassadors being departed, the Count prepared to invade them, and the Milanesi for their defence. To which purpose they joined themselves with Francesco and Giacopo Piccinino, who upon the score of the old Animosity betwixt the Bracceschi and Sforzeschi, had been faithful to the Milanese, hoping by their means to preserve their Liberties till they should have opportunity to divide betwixt the Venetians and the Count, which Amity they did not think would be of any long continuance. The Count was of the same Opinion, and thought it his best way to bind them by Rewards, seeing they were ticklish in their Promises. In the distribution therefore of the War, he was contented the Venetians should attack Cremona, whilst he with the remainder of the Army assaulted the rest of that State. This Article being proposed to the Venetians, was so grateful, that upon that very reason they continued their Friendship to the Count till he had over-run most of the Country of Milan, and so straitened that City that no Provisions could come at it. So that, despairing of other relief, they sent Ambassadors to Venice, to intreat that they would commisserate their Case, and (according to the practice of all Commonwealths) rather support those who stood for their Liberty than a Tyrant who, if he should gain their City, would be too strong afterwards for them. Nor ought they to believe that he would be content with the Terms of their Capitulation who had violated his League with that State. The Venetians were not yet Masters of Crema; and being loth to discover themselves till that were in their possession, they answered them in publick, that their Alliance with the Count would not suffer them to assist them, but privately they entertained them so as they might give their Masters assured hopes of their Friendship. The Count was got already so near Milan that he had taken some part of the Suburbs; and the Venetians having reduced Crema, they thought it time to publish their Amity with Milan, with whom

they were secretly agreed; and the first Article they agreed to was conservation of their Liberty. This League being ratified, the Venetians commanded such Forces as they had with the Count to march back to their Army; they signified likewise to the Count the Peace which they had concluded, and gave him twenty Days' time to accept it himself. The Count was not at all surprized at the Inconstancy of the Venetians; he had foreseen it long before, and expected it should happen every day. Yet he could not but regret it as much as the Milanesi had been molested at his: he desired two Days to give in his Answer to the Ambassadors, which time he resolved to detain the Venetians who were in his Service, and go on with his Enterprize. He gave out publickly he would accept of the Peace, and sent Ambassadors to Venice with full Power to ratifie it; but they had private Instructions to the contrary, to spin out and protract the conclusion by all the Cavils and Subtleties they could invent; and that the Venetian might give the more credit to his Pretences, he made a Truce with the Milanesi for a Month, drew off his Army, and dispersed it into such places as he had taken in that Country. This Stratagem of his was the occasion of his Victory afterwards and the ruin of the Milanesi; for the Venetians presuming upon the Peace, were slower and more remiss in their Preparations for War.

And the Milanesi seeing the Cessation confirmed, the Enemy removed, and the Venetian their Friend, believed for certain the Count would trouble them no more, which Opinion was pernicious to them two several ways, in making them more negligent for their Defence and in sowing their Land, which devoured much of their Corn, and was the reason they were sooner distressed. On the other side, nothing was hurtful to them but was beneficial to the Count, and gave him time to respite and look abroad for Allies. During this War in Lombardy the Florentines had not declared of either side, nor shown any favour to the Count when he took part with the Milanesi, nor afterwards; for the Count having no great need of them, had not sought their Assistance; only after the Defeat at Caravaggio (as they were obliged by the League) they sent Aid to the Venetians. But now the Count was alone and had nobody else to resort to, he was inforced to press their Assistance publickly to the State and privately to his Friends, but especially to Cosimo de' Medici, who in all his Under-

takings had counselled him faithfully and freely supplied him: nor did he desert him now in his distress, but furnished him with what could privately be conveyed, and encouraged him to go on in his Design. He proposed likewise that the City would publickly own him, but he found difficulty, in that Neri, the Son of Capponi, was the most potent Man in Florence, and to him it appeared more for the interest of that City that the Count should accept of the Peace than prosecute the War. His first apprehension was lest out of Indignation to the Count the Milanesi should give themselves up to the Dominion of the Venetian, which would be the ruin of them all: then, if the Count should succeed, and Milan come into his hands, so great an Army, with so great a Territory added to it, must needs (in his Judgment at least) become dangerous and formidable; for if he were troublesome whilst but a Count, when a Duke he would be insupportable. For these Reasons he affirmed it would be better for the Republick of Florence, and for all Italy besides, that the Count should remain as he was, with his Reputation in the Army; and Lombardy he divided into two Commonwealths, which were never like to join to the ruin of their Neighbours, and singly and by themselves they were not able to do hurt: to compass which he saw no way so probable as by preserving their old Amity with the Venetians and disclaiming the Count.

These Arguments were not approved by Cosimo's Friends, believing they were not so much Neri's Judgment as Jealousie lest the Count being made a Duke, Cosimo should grow too powerful by being his Friend. Cosimo, on the other hand, persuaded that their Alliance with the Count would be for the advantage both of Florence and all Italy, for it was madness to imagine Milan could continue a Commonwealth, seeing the Humour of the Citizens, their manner of Life, and the old Factions and Differences among them were not capable of any Form or System of Civil Government; so that of necessity the Count must be Duke of it, or the Venetians Lords; and in that case nobody could be so weak but to prefer a single Neighbour, competently powerful, before an Enemy that was remote, but more great and incontroulable. Neither could he believe the Milanesi would give themselves up to the Venetians, for the Count had the bigger Party in the Town, and whenever they found themselves unable to defend

their Liberties any longer they would more probably surrender to the Count than the Venetian. These varieties of Opinion kept the City a long time in suspence; but at length it was agreed that Ambassadors should be dispatched to the Count to treat about their Alliance: if they found him so strong that there was likelihood he should prevail, then they should conclude, but if otherwise they were to cavil and protract. By the time these Ambassadors had got to Reggio they had news the Count was become Master of Milan. For the Count, as soon as his Truce was expired, had clapped down again before it with his Army, hoping to carry it in a short time in despite of the Venetians, for they could not come to relieve it but by the River Adda, which was easie to be hindered; being Winter, he could not fear they would remove him with their whole Army, and before the Spring he doubted not to carry it, especially seeing Francesco Piccinino was dead, and Giacopo, his Brother, remained sole Captain of their Forces. The Venetian had sent an Ambassador to Milan to encourage them to defend themselves, and to assure them of speedy and effectual Relief; and so far they were as good as their words, that during the Winter many Skirmishes and Conflicts passed betwixt the Venetians and the Count, till when the Weather began to be open they came down with their Army (under the Command of Pandolfo Malatesta) and encamped upon the River Adda; where it being debated in Council whether they should fall upon the Count and run the hazard of a Battle, it was opposed by Pandolfo (upon his Experience both of the Count and his Army), who advised the Town might be relieved without any such danger, the Count being distressed already both for Forage and Corn. Wherefore his Opinion was that they should block him up where he was and intercept his Provisions, which would keep up the Spirits of the Milanesi and divert them from surrendering to him.

This Resolution was most plausible to the Venetians, because they thought it safe in itself, and did hope that by keeping the Town in constant necessity it would be forced at last to deliver up to them; for considering how the Count had provoked them, they could not imagine they would surrender to him. In the meantime the Milanesi were reduced to extream Misery, for being a populous City, the poor People fell down dead in the Streets

for want of Bread; and this Scarcity begetting Murmurs and Complaints in several Places, the Magistrates were afraid of some Tumult or other, and used all possible diligence to prevent their assembling. The Multitude are not suddenly to be engaged in any Mischief, but when once they are disposed the least Accident imaginable sets them on work. It happened that two Persons of indifferent Condition being in discourse near the Porta Nuova about the Calamities of the City, and what ways were left to preserve it, People got about them by degrees, so as in a short time they were in a considerable number; upon which a Rumour was spread in the Town that they were in Arms against the Magistrates at Porta Nuova. Hereupon the whole Multitude (who expected some Occasion) put themselves in Arms, made Gasparre da Vico Mercato their Leader, and marching up to the place where the Magistrates were in Council, they fell upon them with such Fury that all which could not escape were slain; among the rest Leonardo de Veneto, the Venetian Ambassador, who had laughed at their Miseries and was judged the principal occasion of their Wants. Having made themselves Masters of the City, they deliberated which way to relieve themselves of their Distresses, and it was unanimously resolved (seeing their Liberty was not to be preserved) that they should throw themselves under the Protection of some Prince which should be able to defend them, but they were divided about the Person; some were for King Alfonso, some for the Duke of Savoy, some the King of France. Not one Word all the while of the Count, so great and implacable was the Indignation of the People against him; yet at last, not agreeing in the rest, Gaspare da Vico Mercato mentioned the Count, and displayed gravely before them that if their design was to rid themselves of the War, the Count was the only Person to be chosen; for the People of Milan were in necessity of a certain and present Peace, not of a tedious and only possible Supply.

Then he fell with great Words to mitigate the Proceedings of the Count; he accused the Venetians; he accused all the Princes of Italy, who (some for Ambition and some for Avarice) would not permit them to live free. And now since their Liberty was lost, and they must yield to somebody or other, his Opinion was they should do it to one that knew them, and was able to defend them, that they might be sure of Peace for their servitude, and not be

engaged in greater and more pernicious War. The People heard him with great intention, and when he had done they cried out with one Voice that the Count should be the Man, and Gaspare their Ambassador to invite him; who carrying him the joyful News, was kindly entertained, and the Count entered into Milan 26th of February 1450, and was received with great Acclamation, even by those Persons which not long before had so highly traduced him.

The news of this Conquest arriving at Florence, they dispatched Orders immediately to their Ambassadors, who were upon the way, that instead of treating an Agreement with him as Count (which was their Instruction before), their business should now be to congratulate him as Duke. These Ambassadors were honourably entertained and bountifully presented by the Duke, who knew, against the Power of the Venetians, he could not have in all Italy more faithful nor more potent Allies than the Citizens of Florence, who, though freed from their apprehensions of the House of the Visconti, were nevertheless obnoxious to the Forces of the King of Aragon and the Venetians; for they knew the Kings of Aragon would be their Enemies, for the Amity and Correspondence they had always maintained with the French; and the Venetians knew their old Fears of the Visconti were occasioned by them, and remembering with what eagerness the Visconti were persecuted, and that if they came into their Power they were like to fare no better, they were bent wholly upon their ruin. For these Reasons the new Duke embraced an Agreement with the Florentines very willingly, and the Venetians and the King of Aragon confederated against them, the King of Aragon undertaking the Florentines and the Venetians the Duke, who being new, and scarce settled in his Government, they supposed would not be able to confront them with all his own Forces nor all the Friends he could make. But because the League betwixt the Florentines and the Venetians was not yet fully expired, and the King of Aragon, upon conclusion of the War at Piombino, had made an Accord with them, it did not seem convenient to break the Peace abruptly, but rather to attend some Accident that might give them pretence to invade them. Whereupon they sent Ambassadors to Florence (each of them apart) to let the Florentines know that the Leagues which had passed

betwixt them were not made to offend anybody, but to defend one another. Then the Venetians complained that the Florentines had suffered Alexander, the Duke's Brother, to pass with his Forces into Lombardy by the way of Lunigiana, and, besides, had been the Authors and Counsellors of the Agreement betwixt the Duke and the Marquess of Mantoua; all which they affirmed was done to the prejudice of their State and contrary to the Amity betwixt them; insinuating, as Friends, that whoever injures another Person wrongfully gives him a right to revenge himself, and whoever breaks Peace must prepare for War.

The Answer to these Embassies was committed to Cosimo, who, in a wise and eloquent Oration, recapitulated the Benefits the Republick of Venice had received from that State; declaring what Empire and Dominion they had gained with that Treasure, and Forces, and advice of the Florentines; demonstrating that as the Amity betwixt them was proposed by the Florentines, they would not be the first which would break it; for having been always lovers of Peace, they were well satisfied with their Friendship, and would always endeavour to preserve it. The truth was, all People wondered at their Complaints, and that so grave and judicious a Senate should concern themselves for things so trivial and vain; but seeing they thought them worthy of their consideration, they could not but declare that their Country was free and open to anybody, and that the Duke was a Person of such Qualifications that he needed not the Advice or Favour of any in the choice of his Allies, and therefore he was afraid there was something more at the bottom than they had hitherto discovered, which, if hereafter it should appear, the Florentines doubted not but to manifest it easily to the world, that as their Friendship had been profitable, their Enmity could be dangerous. However, things were smoothed over pretty handsomely for that time, and the Ambassadors seemed to go away well enough content; yet the alliance the King of Aragon and the Venetians had made, and the manner of their deportment, gave the Duke and Florentines both more reason to prepare for War than to rely upon their Peace; upon which the Florentines confederating with the Duke, the Venetians discovered themselves, made a League with Sienna, and banished all the Florentines and their subjects out of Venice and its Dominions; and not long after Alfonso did the same,

without any respect to the League he had made with them the Year before, and without any just or so much as pretended occasion. The Venetians were desirous to get Bologna into their hands, and to that end, furnishing certain of their Exiles with a proportionable force, they marched thither in the Night, and by the Common-shore got into the Town so privately their entrance was not perceived till they gave the Alarm themselves; upon which Santi Bentivogli leaping out of his bed, was informed the whole City was in possession of the Enemy. Santi was advised by many which were about him to fly, and preserve himself that way, seeing there was not any left to secure the State. However, he resolved to try his Fortune, and taking Arms and encouraging his Servants to follow him, he went forth, and having joined them to some of his Friends, he charged a Party of the Enemy, beat them, killed several, and forced all of them out of the Town; by which Action he was thought to have given ample Testimony of his Extraction from the House of the Bentivogli.

These Passages made it clear to the Florentines that a War was intended, and therefore they betook themselves to their ancient methods of Defence. They created a Council of Ten; they entertained new Officers; they sent Ambassadors to Rome, Naples, Venice, Sienna, and Milan, to desire Aid of their Friends, to discover such as were suspicious, to gain such as were irresolute, and to pry into the Councils of their Enemies. From the Pope they could obtain nothing but general Words, Civility, and Exhortations to Peace; from the King of Aragon nothing but idle Excuses for having dismissed the Florentines, offering his Passport to any which demanded it; and although he endeavoured by all means to conceal his Preparation for War, yet the Ambassadors found him a Juggler, and perceived several of his Practices against their State. With the Duke therefore they renewed their League, procured an Amity with the Genoeses, composed the Differences about the Reprisal, and many other things which had formerly obstructed it. They tried all ways to frustrate or break the Treaty, and they went so far as to supplicate the great Turk to banish all Florentines out of his Country; but that Emperor would not hearken. The Florentine Ambassadors were prohibited entrance into the Dominions of the Venetian, because (forsooth) they were in League with the King of Aragon, and could not send

any Embassies without his participation. The Siennesi received their Ambassadors, treated them well, lest they should be over-run before the League could relieve them; and therefore they thought it best to collogue and lull those Arms asleep which they were not able to resist. It was conjectured then that the Venetian and King both sent Ambassadors to justifie the War: but the Venetian Ambassador being refused likewise to be admitted into the Territories of Florence, the King denied to do that Office alone, and the whole Embassy came to nothing: by which the Venetians found themselves used with the same rudeness and contempt which not many Months before they had exercised upon the Florentines.

In the midst of these Apprehensions the Emperor Frederic III. passed into Italy to be crowned, and on January 30, 1451, entered into Florence with an Equipage of 1400 Horse. He was honourably entertained there by the Senate, and continued with them to the 6th of February, upon which day he departed for Rome, in order to his Coronation; where having performed that ceremony and celebrated his Nuptials with the Empress (which was come thither by Sea), he departed again for Germany, returned by Florence (where all the old Honours were repeated), and having been obliged in his passage by the Marquess of Ferrara, he gave him a grant of Modena and Reggio as a Reward. But the Florentines were not by all those Solemnities diverted from their Preparations; for their own Reputation and the Terror of their Enemies, the Duke and they had entered into a League with France, which with great joy and ostentation they published all over Italy.

In the month of May 1452 the Venetians, not thinking it fit to dissemble any longer, invaded the territories of the Duke of Milan, by the way of Lodi, with 16,000 Horse and 6000 Foot; whilst at the same time the Marquess of Montferrat (upon some designs of his own or the stimulation of the Venetians) assaulted him on the other side by the way of Alexandria. The Duke had got an Army together of 18,000 Horse and 3000 Foot, with which (after he had furnished Alexandria and Lodi with strong Garrisons, and fortified all Places where the Enemy might offend him) he fell into the Country of Brescia, where he did great mischief to the Venetians, both parties plundering the Countries and burning such Towns as

were not able to defend themselves; but the Marquess of Montferrat being defeated not long after by the Garrison at Alexandria, the Duke was at more leisure to invest and make his Inroads into the Countries of the Venetian. Whilst the War was carried on in Lombardy in this manner, with various but inconsiderable Accidents, the Wars in Tuscany were commenced betwixt the King of Aragon and the Florentines, and managed with as little Ardour and success as the other. Ferrando (a natural Son of Alfonso's) marched into Tuscany with 12,000 Men under the command of Federigo, Lord of Urbin. His first enterprize was to assault Foiano in Valdisciana (for the Siennesi being their Friends, they entered that way into the Florentine Dominions). The Castle was weak, the Walls but indifferent, the Garrison but small; yet those they had within it were valiant and faithful, the whole Number which were sent for the security of that Place not exceeding 200. Before this Castle Ferrando encamped, and either their Courage was so little without or theirs so great within, that it took him up thirty-six Days before he could master it. Which time gave the Florentines great convenience of providing other Places of higher importance, and drawing their Forces together and disposing them into better order than otherwise they could have done.

This Castle being taken, the Enemy marched into Chianti, where they attempted two little Towns which were held by a few private Citizens, and were repulsed. Leaving them, they removed to Castellina (a little Castle upon the Confines of Chianti), and sate down before it. This Castle was about ten Miles from Sienna, weak in its Works, but weaker in its Situation, yet in neither so weak as the Courage of the Assailants; for after forty-four days' Siege, and all the Art and Force they could use, they were glad to draw off and leave the Castle as they found it. So little formidable were the Armies in those Days, and so inconsiderable the Wars, that those Places which are now deserted as impossible to be kept were then defended as if they had been impossible to have been taken. Whilst Ferrando was with his Army in Chianti he made many Incursions into the Country of Florence, running up with his Parties within six Miles of the Town, to the great Terror and Detriment of their Subjects, who, having got together about 8000 Soldiers, under the Command of Astorre de Faenza

and Gismondo Malatesta, held off from the Enemy towards the Castle of Colle, being unwilling to come to a Battle, because they knew if they lost not their Army there was no danger of the War, for the little Castles which should be taken would be restored upon the Peace, and the great Towns were secure. The King had likewise a Fleet of about twenty Vessels (Gallies and Foists) in the Sea of Pisa, which Fleet (whilst La Castellina was assaulted by Land) was employed by the King to batter the Castle of Vada that stood upon the Sea, and they did it so effectually that in a short time, by the inadvertency of the Governour, they got it into their hands: from whence afterwards they ran over the whole Country thereabouts; but those Excursions were presently restrained by certain Florentine Soldiers which were sent to Campiglia. The Pope in the meantime concerned himself no farther than to mediate an Accord. But though he was so tender in engaging abroad in any Action of War, he found himself at home in no little danger. There was at that time in Rome a Person called Stephano Porcari, a Citizen born, of good Extraction and Learning, but most eminent for the Generosity of his Mind. This Stephano was ambitious (as most are which are desirous of Glory) to perform, or at least attempt, something that might make him memorable to Posterity. And nothing occurred so honourably to his thoughts as to deliver his Country from the insolence of the Prelates and reduce it to its primitive Liberty; hoping, if he effected it, he should be called either the Father or the Restorer of his Country. His great hopes and encouragement in this Enterprize were deduced from the Iniquity and ill Lives of the Prelates, which were highly displeasing both to the Barons and People of Rome. But his greatest confidence was grounded upon certain Verses of Petrarch's in that Canto which begins *Spirito Gentile*, &c. The Verses are these:—

Sopra 'l monte Tarpeio, Canzon, vedrai.
Un Cavalier ch' Italia tutta honora,
Pensoso piu d' altrui che di se stesso.

Stephano was of opinion that the Poets were many times inspired, and had perfect and divine Inflations from above; so that he concluded what Petrarch had prophesied in that Canto would certainly come to pass, and he did not know any Man

fitter than himself to accomplish it, in respect of his Eloquence, and Learning, and Favour, and Friends. Having taken up this Fancy, he could not contain himself, but his Words, Gesture, and manner of Living discovered him, and rendered him suspicious to the Pope, who, to secure himself against his Plots, confined him to Bologna, and sent Instructions to the Governour to have an eye over him every day. But Stephano was not to be discouraged by one Disaster; it rather animated him in his design; insomuch that, with the greatest caution he could, he continued his Practices with his Friends, and now and then would steal to Rome and back again with such expedition as he would be sure to present himself before the Governour at that time he was to appear. But afterwards, having drawn in as many as he thought necessary for his Work, he resolved to proceed to Action without further delay, and sent to his Correspondents in Rome that at a prefixed time a splendid Supper should be prepared, all the Conspirators to be invited to it, and each of them to have private Orders to bring his Confidant along with him; and he promised to be there himself precisely at the time. All things were ordered exactly to his Directions, and he himself was punctually with them; for as soon as supper was ready and served up to the Table, he presented himself amongst them in a Robe of Cloth of Gold, his Collar and other Ornaments about him, to give him Majesty and Reputation; and having embraced all the Conspirators, in a long Oration he exhorted them to be couragious, and dispose themselves chearfully in so glorious an Enterprize. Then he appointed the way, ordering one of them to seize the Pope's Palace the next Morning, and the other to run about the Streets and excite the People to Arm. But his Conspiracy coming to the ear of the Pope (some say by the Treachery of his Confederates, others by his being seen in the Town), which way soever it was, the Pope caused him and the greatest part of his Comrades to be apprehended the very same Night after Supper and put to Death, as they deserved. This was the end of the Enterprize; and though among some People, perhaps, his Intention might be commended, yet his Judgment must necessarily be blamed; for such Attempts may have some shadow of Glory in the contrivance, but their Execution is certain Destruction.

The War in Tuscany had continued about a Year, and in the

Spring, 1453, both Armies had taken the Field, when, in relief of the Florentines, Alexander Sforza, the Duke's Brother, arrived with a supply of 1000 Horse, by which the Florentine Army being much increased and the King's Army become inferior in Number, the Florentines thought fit to recover what they had lost, and with little labour took some of their Towns again: after which they incamped at Foiano, which by the carelessness of the Commissaries was sacked; so that the Inhabitants being dispersed, they were hardly got to inhabit there again; and when they did come, it was not without great Exemptions and Reward. The Castle of Vada also was retaken; for the Enemy perceiving they could not hold it, they set it on fire and departed. Whilst the Florentine Army was employed in this matter, the King of Aragon's Army, not having the Courage to come near them, were retreated towards Sienna, from whence they made frequent Excursions into the Country about Florence, where they made great Hubbubs, committed many Outrages, and brought great terror upon the People: nor was the King defective in contriving other ways of assaulting his Enemies, dividing their Forces, or detracting from their Reputation. Gherardo Gambatorti was at that time Lord of Val di Bagna. This Gherardo and his Ancestors had always been in the Florentine Service, either as hired or recommended. Alfonso was tampering with this Gherardo to deliver up his Territory to him, and he promised to give him an Equivalence in the Kingdom of Naples. This Transaction was not so private but they had News of it in Florence, and an Ambassador was dispatched to remember him of his own and his Predecessor's Obligations to that State, and to admonish him to persevere in his Amity with them, as they had constantly done. Gherardo pretended to be surprized at what the Ambassador told him; swore a thousand Oaths that never any such Wickedness entered into his thoughts; proffered to have gone in Person to Florence and resided there, to secure them of his Fidelity; but being unhappily indisposed himself, his Son should go along with him, and remain there as a perpetual Hostage. His Proffers and his Imprecations together made the Florentines believe that Gherardo was honest and his Accuser the Knave, in which opinion they acquiesced. But Gherardo went on with the King, and rather with more eagerness than before; and when all was

agreed, Alfonso sent Fryer Puccio (a Knight of Jerusalem) to take possession of the Castles and Towns which belonged to Gherardo.

But Bagno retaining its affection to Florence, promised Obedience to the King's Commissary with no little regret: Puccio was in possession of almost all that State, only the Castle of Corzano was behind, which was likewise to be delivered. When Gherardo made this Surrender, among the rest of his own Creatures about him there was one Antonio Gualandi, a Pisan, a young Gentleman and brave, and one that highly detested this Treachery in Gherardo. Pondering with himself the situation of the Place, the number of the Garrison, the dissatisfaction he observed both in their Gestures and Looks, and finding Gherardo at the Gate ready to introduce the Enemy, he conveyed himself betwixt the Castle and Gherardo, and taking his opportunity, with both his hands thrust him away; and then causing the Wicket to be shut, he exhorted the Guards to stand faithfully to the Florentines against so false and so flagitious a Man. The report of this Action arriving at Bagno and the Towns which were about it, they unanimously took Arms against their new Masters, and setting up the Florentine Colours upon the Walls, they drove them all out of that Country. This News coming to Florence, they immediately clapped their young Hostage into Prison, and dispatched Supplies to Bagno and those Parts to secure them, and made that Country dependent upon themselves. Gherardo (a Traytor in the meantime, both to his Friends and his Son) had much ado to escape, leaving his Wife, Family, and Fortune in the hands of his Enemies. This Accident was looked upon as a great Deliverance in Florence; for had the King made himself Master of those Parts, he might with little expence have overrun all as far as Val di Tevere and Casentino, and brought such distraction upon their Affairs, that the Florentines must have divided their Army, and been disabled thereby from attending the Aragonian Forces about Sienna with their Army entire. Besides the Provisions which the Florentines had made in Italy to oppose the Confederacy of their Enemies, they sent Agriolo Acciaivoli their Ambassador into France, to negotiate with that King for the sending King Rinato d' Angio into Italy in the behalf of the Duke and themselves, and to represent to him that coming thither for the defence of his Friends, when he was once

entered and had settled them, he might set up his own claim to the Kingdom of Naples, and they would be engaged to assist him; and so, whilst in Lombardy and Tuscany the War was carried on (as we have related), in France the Treaty was concluded, and Rinato obliged in June to come into Italy with 2400 Horse; and the League, on the other side, obliged at his arrival at Alexandria to pay him 30,000 Florins and 10,000 per men. afterwards whilst the War should continue; but being ready (upon this stipulation) to pass into Italy, he was obstructed by the Duke of Savoy and the Marquess of Montferrat, who were Friends to the Venetians, and would not suffer him to pass. Hereupon Rinato was desired by the Florentine Ambassador to march with his Forces into Provence, and for the encouragement and reputation of his Friends, to pass himself and part of them into Italy by Sea, leaving the rest in Provence till the King of France should prevail with the Duke of Savoy that they might march through his Country. And as the Ambassador advised, it was done; for Rinato went by Sea, and the rest, at the King of France's mediation, were permitted to pass into Italy through the Dominions of the Duke of Savoy. King Rinato was received by the Duke of Milan with all the demonstrations of Kindness imaginable; and having joined their Forces, they assaulted the Venetians with such terror that in a little time all the Towns they had taken about Cremona were recovered; and not contented with them, they took almost all the Country of Brescia; for the Venetian Army, not thinking itself secure in the Field, was retreated under the very Walls of that City. Winter coming on, and the Duke at Verona, he thought fit, for the refreshment of his Men, to put them into Quarters, and consigned Piacenza for the Quarters of Rinato; where having remained all that Winter in the Year 1453 without any Action considerable, when the Spring was come and the Duke resolved to draw into the Field and drive the Venetians out of all they had upon the *Terra-firma*, Rinato signified to the Duke that of necessity he must return into France.

This Resolution of Rinato's was unexpected to the Duke, and gave him no little Anxiety. He went to him immediately himself, and endeavoured with all possible importunity to dissuade him; but neither Prayers nor Promises could prevail with him

any farther than to leave part of his Forces with them, and to engage himself to send his Son Giovanni, who in his room should continue in the Service of the League. How unwelcome soever it was to the Duke, Rinato's departure was not at all displeasing to the Florentines; for, having recovered what they had lost themselves, and being grown fearless of Alfonso, they had no maw that the Duke should get more than his Troops in Lombardy. Rinato continuing his Resolution, departed for France, and (as he had promised) sent his Son Giovanni into Italy, who stayed not in Lombardy, but removed, presently to Florence, where he was honourably entertained. This departure of Rinato disposed Duke Francesco to peace; the Venetians, the Florentines, and Alfonso were all weary of the War and ready to embrace it; and the Pope desired it above all, by reason that that very Year Mahomet, the great Turk, had taken Constantinople and made himself Master of all Greece, which alarmed all Christendom, but especially the Venetians and the Pope, who imagined already they felt his Talons in Italy. The Pope therefore desired all the Potentates of Italy, that they would send their several Plenipotentiaries to him, to negotiate a general Peace. His motion being accepted and the Ambassadors met, when they came to the matter so much difficulty arose as there was but small hopes of Accommodation.

Alfonso required that the Florentines should reimburse him for all the Charges he had been at in the War, and the Florentines expected the same. The Venetians demanded Cremona of the Duke; and the Duke, Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema of them. So that these Difficulties seemed impossible to be removed. Nevertheless, what was so desperate at Rome among so many was easily concluded betwixt two of them at Milan and Venice; for whilst the Peace was negotiating at Rome, and proceeded thus slowly, on the 9th of April 1454 it was determined betwixt the Duke and the Venetians that each of them should be restored to what they were possessed of before the War; that the Duke should have liberty to recover what the Marquess of Montferrat and the Duke of Savoy had taken from him; and that three Months' time should be allowed to the rest of the Princes of Italy to come in. The Pope, the Florentines, the Siennesi, and other little Potentates came in within the time prefixed and rati-

fied it; and the Venetians, Florentines, and Duke made a Peace betwixt them three for twenty-five Years. Alfonso was the only Prince of Italy who seemed to be refractory, conceiving he could not concur without diminution, in respect he was to be admitted rather as an Auxiliary than a Principal; upon which score he continued irresolute a good while, and would not declare. At length, upon several Embassies from the Pope and other Princes, he suffered himself to be prevailed upon, and he and his Son entered into the League for thirty Years. After which the King and the Duke made several Alliances and Cross-matches together, marrying their Sons and Daughters reciprocally into one another's Families. Yet, that Italy might not be left without Seed or Foundation for a new War, Alfonso would not enter into the League till he had leave by consent of the Colleagues to make War upon the Genoeses, and Gismondo Malatesta, and Astorre, Prince of Faenza. Peace being concluded upon those Terms, Ferrando, Alfonso's Son, who had been at Sienna, returned into Naples, having done nothing considerable in Tuscany but lost many of his Men.

This Peace being made and most of the Princes comprehended, the only fear that remained was lest the Differences betwixt Alfonso and the Genoeses might disturb it. But it proved otherwise, for Alfonso did nothing openly to molest it; it was the Ambition and Avarice of the mercenary Soldier which interrupted it. The Venetians (as their custom is upon the conclusion of Peace) disbanding their Army, Giacopo Piccinino, one of their Generals, with several other considerable Officers (without leave), departed into Romagna, and from thence to Sienna, where he began new Hostilities and took several Towns. In the beginning of these Troubles and of the Year 1455 Pope Nicolo died, and Calisto III. was chosen to succeed. This Pope, to repress these new and approaching Wars, raised what Forces he could under the Command of his General, Giovanni Ventimiglia, and joining them with the Forces of the Florentines and the Duke (who were likewise got together to suppress those Commotions), they marched together in a Body against Giacopo, and coming to an Engagement with him near Bolsena, notwithstanding Ventimiglia was taken Prisoner, Giacopo was worsted, and got off in disorder to Gastigliona della Pescaia, where, had he

not been supplied with Money by Alfonso, he had been utterly ruined. Which Relief made all People believe that that Enterprize was undertaken and prosecuted by Alfonso's order and direction; and Alfonso perceiving he was discovered, to reconcile himself to the Colleagues (whom he had disobliged with that pitiful War), he brought it about that Giacopo should restore all he had taken in the Territory of Sienna, upon the payment of 20,000 Florins; after which conclusion he received Giacopo and his Forces into the Kingdom of Naples. In these Times, though the Pope was very intent upon the curbing of Piccinino, yet not so but he had eye still upon the interest of Christendom, which was then much overlaid by the Turk.

To this end he sent Ambassadors and Preachers into all the Provinces of Europe to persuade them to arm against the common Enemy of their Religion, and with their Persons and Purses to give what Assistance they were able; so that in Florence great store of Alms were collected, and several People wore the red Cross, to intimate that they were ready in their Persons to engage in that War. Besides which, several solemn Processions were made; nor was there anything in publick or private wanting to show them among the forwardest of the Christians in that Enterprize, either for Counsel, or Money, or Men. But the edge of this Croisad was taken off by a late Intelligence they received, that the Turk having besieged Belgrade, a Town in Hungary not far from the Danube, was beaten off by the Hungarians and himself wounded: so that the terror which all Christendom conceived upon the taking of Constantinople being abated, they went on but coolly in their Preparations for War; and in Hungary likewise, upon the Death of the Waywod, their General, their Victory was prosecuted but faintly. But to return to the Affairs in Italy. The Troubles commenced by Giacopo Piccinino being composed in the Year 1456, and all human Contention in appearance at an end, it pleased God to begin a new War of His own, and to send such a Storm and Tempest of Wind in Tuscany as produced most strange and memorable Effects, above the Records of Time past or the credit of Time to come. Upon the 24th of August, about an hour before Day, near the upper Sea towards Anconia, a thick dark Cloud of about two Miles wide was seen crossing over Italy and pointing towards Pisa; which

Cloud, being driven by an extraordinary impulse (whether natural or supernatural I cannot say) was divided into several parts, sometimes hurried up to the Sky, sometimes as furiously towards the Earth, sometimes twisting round like a Cylinder, knocking and dashing one against the other with unconceivable violence, with great Lightnings and flashes of Fire before them; which Concussions made a noise more dreadful and loud than ever any Thunder or Earthquake was known to have done. The Terror of this Tempest was so great every one believed the World was at an end, and that the Heavens, the Earth, the Waters, and the rest of the Elements were resolving into their first Chaos and Confusion. Nor were the Effects less formidable where it passed, especially about the Castle of S. Casciano. This Castle is about eight Miles from Florence, situate upon the Mountain which parts the Vales of Pisa and Grieve; betwixt this Castle and the Town of S. Andrea (upon the same Mountain) this Whirlwind passing, reached not to the Town; and of the Castle it carried away only the Battlements and Chimnies; but betwixt the said Places it laid several Houses flat with the Ground, tore up the Churches from their Foundations, and carried the Roofs of the Churches of San Martino a Bagnuolo and of Santa Maria della Pace, whole and entire, above the distance of a Mile. A Messenger and his Mules were hurried out of the way into the neighbouring Valley, and found dead the next day. The sturdiest Oaks and the strongest Trees were not only blown down, but carried an incredible distance from the place where they grew. Insomuch that when Day appeared, and the Tempest was over, the People remained stupid and in strange Consternation. The Country was desolate and wasted; the Ruines of the Houses and Churches terrible; the Lamentation of those whose Houses were subverted, and their Cattle, Servants, or Friends found dead in their Ruins, was not to be seen or heard without great Horror and Compassion. But God, sure, intended rather to affright than chastise the Tuscans; for had this Tempest happened in any of their Cities where the Houses were thick and the Inhabitants numerous, as it fell upon the Hills where the Oaks and Trees and Houses were thin, doubtless the Mischief and Desolation had been greater than the mind of Man can comprehend. But God Almighty was pleased to content Himself with this Essay, to

make Mankind more sensible of His Power, if they persisted to offend Him.

But to return where I left. Alfonso, as I said before, was not at all satisfied with the Peace; and seeing the War which he had caused Giacopo Piccinino to make upon the Siennese (without any reasonable occasion) had produced no considerable Effect, he had a mind to try what that would come to which by the League he was permitted to undertake. So that in the Year 1456 (desiring to fix that Government in the Family of the Adorni, and to supplant the Tregosi, who were then in possession) he resolved to invade the Genoese both by Sea and by Land. To this end he caused Giacopo Piccinino to pass Tronto with his Forces and fall upon Gismondo Malatesta (by way of diversion), who having secured his Towns, was not much terrified at his approach, so that his Enterprize on that side turned to little account; but his Invasion of Genoa created him and his Kingdom more Troubles than he ever desired. Piero Fregoso was at that time Duke of Genoa. This Piero finding himself unable to bear up against so powerful a King, upon consideration of his own Weakness, resolved at least to surrender that State to one that should be able to defend it, and perhaps some time or other gave him a reasonable Reward. He sent Ambassadors therefore to Charles VII. of France, to desire his Protection and tender him the Government. Charles accepted the Offer; and to take Possession of the City he sent Jean of Anjou (King Regnier's Son), who not long before was returned from Florence into France; for Charles was persuaded that Jean of Anjou, being acquainted with the Humours and Customs of the Italians, was properer for that Government than any Man he could send. Besides, from thence he believed he might prosecute his Designs against Naples with more ease and convenience, his Father Regnier having been expelled that Kingdom by Alfonso of Aragon. Hereupon Jean departed for Genoa, was received honourably by the Town, and invested with the whole Power both of the City and State.

This Accident was not at all pleasing to Alfonso; he found now he had pulled an old House over his head. However, he carried it bravely, went on with his Enterprize, and was advanced with his Fleet under Villa Marina at Porto Fino, when, surprized with a sudden Distemper, he died. The death of Alfonso put

an end to the Wars against Jean of Anjou and the Genoese; and Ferrando succeeding his father Alfonso in the Kingdom, was in no little trouble, having an Enemy upon his hands of such reputation in Italy, and a jealousie of several of his Barons, who being inclined to new Changes, he was afraid might side with the French. Besides, he was acquainted with the Ambition of the Pope, and being scarce settled in his Kingdom, was fearful lest he should attempt something to supplant him. His only hopes were in the Duke of Milan, who was no less solicitous for the Affairs of that Kingdom than himself, apprehending that if ever the French came to be Masters of Naples, their next Enterprize of course would be against him; for he knew they might pretend to Milan as an Appendix to that Crown. For these Reasons, as soon as Alfonso was dead Francesco sent Letters and Men to Ferrando; the first to keep up his Heart, the other his Reputation. Upon the death of Alfonso the Pope designed to give his Nephew, Piero Ludovico Borgia, the Government of that Kingdom; and to gloss over the Business, and make it more plausible to the Princes of Italy, he gave out that that Kingdom belonging formerly to the Church, his Intention was only to reduce it to that Condition, and therefore he desired the Duke of Milan would not give any Assistance to Ferrando, and offered him such Towns as he had possessed formerly in that Kingdom. But in the midst of his Contrivances Calisto died, and Pius II. succeeded him, who was a Siennese of the Family of the Piccolomini, and his Name Æneas.

This Pope employing his Thoughts wholly for the benefit of Christendom and the Honour of the Church, and laying aside all private Passion and Advantage, at the Intreaty of the Duke of Milan, crowned Ferrando King of Naples; judging it a readier and safer way to compose the differences of Italy by confirming him that was already in possession than by assisting the pretences of the French or setting up (as Calisto did) for himself. However, Ferrando took it for a favour, and to requite it he made Antonio, the Pope's Nephew, Prince of Malfi, married him to his natural Daughter, and, besides this, restored Benevento and Terracina to the Church. And now all the Arms in Italy were visibly laid down, and Pius (as Calisto had begun before) was moving all Christendom against the Turk, when a new Quarrel

sprang up betwixt the Fregosi and Jean of Anjou, the Lord of Genoa, which produced a greater and more important War than the last. Pietrino Fregoso was retired to a Castle of his in Riviera, much discontented that Jean, having been preferred to his Dignity in Genoa by him and his Family, had not gratified them as they deserved; so that by degrees it was come to a Feud. Ferrando was very well pleased with the Difference, as being the only way to secure him in his Kingdom, and therefore he sent Pietrino Supplies both of Men and Money, hoping thereby Jean might be expulsed out of the State of Genoa. Jean of Anjou having notice of their Intelligence, sent for Relief into France, which having received, he marched out against Pietrino; but Pietrino, by the access of more Supplies from sundry Places, being grown too strong, Jean retreated, and applied himself to securing the City; which he did not do so carefully but Pietrino in one Night surprized several Posts in it, but was beaten the next Morning, himself and most of his Men slain. This Victory elevated Jean so far that he resolved to attempt upon Ferrando. Departing from Genoa in October 1459 with a great Fleet, he sailed to Baia, and from thence to Sessa, where he was honourably received by that Duke.

There had joined themselves with Jean of Anjou the Prince of Taranto and the Citizens of Aquila, besides several other Princes and Cities; so that already that Kingdom was more than half lost. Upon which Ferrando desired Aid of the Pope and the Duke of Milan, and to lessen the number of his Enemies, made Peace with Gismondo Malatesti, which Peace disgusted Giacopo Piccinino so highly (Gismondo being his natural Enemy) that he deserted Ferrando and took up Arms under Jean. Ferrando sent Money likewise to Federigo, Lord of Urbino, and as soon as could be expected got together a considerable Army (according to those Times), with which he marched against the Enemy, and finding them upon the River Sarni, he engaged them, but was defeated and his most considerable Officers taken. After this Victory most of the Towns and Castles surrendered to Jean of Anjou; only Naples and some few neighbouring Towns and Princes adhered still to Ferrando. Giacopo Piccinino advised to march directly for Naples, and make himself Master of the chief City; but Jean replied he would first ruin the Country, and then

the City would come with more ease; but his rejecting the Counsel of Piccinino was the loss of that design, for he did not know that the Members follow the Head more naturally than the Head the Members. Ferrando was fled into Naples, and there resorted to him divers of his Subjects who were driven from their homes, whom he received; and having with all possible gentleness gained some Monies of the Citizens, he got a small Body of an Army together; he sent new Embassies to the Pope and Duke for Supplies, and was relieved with more plenty and speed than before; for they were both of them afraid that the loss of that Kingdom would turn to their prejudice. Much strengthened by their Supplies, Ferrando marched out of Naples; and having recovered his Reputation in part, he recovered some of his Towns. But whilst the War was carried on in that Kingdom with such variety, an Accident happened which robbed Jean of his opportunity of compleating that Enterprize. The Genoese were extreamely dissatisfied with the insolent Government of the French, had taken Arms against the Governor, and forced him into the Castle. In this Action the Fregosi and Adorni concurred, and the Duke of Milan supplied them both with Money and Men. King Regnier passed that way with a Fleet towards the relief of his Son, imagining by the help of the Castle he might recover the Town; and landing his Men in order thereunto, he was beaten in such sort that he was forced back into Provence. This News dismayed Jean not a little. However, he gave not his Enterprize over, but continued the War by the help of such Barons whose revolt from Ferrando had rendered them desperate of pardon. At length, after many Occurrences, both Armies came to a Battle near Troia, in which Jean was routed; but his Defeat troubled him not so much as the loss of Piccinino, who left his side and went back again to Ferrando. His Army being broke, he got off into Istria, and from thence into France. This War continued four Years, and miscarried by the negligence of the General when the Soldiers had many times overcome. In this War, however, the Florentines were not publickly concerned. The truth is, upon the death of Alfonso, his Son John of Aragon being come to that Crown, sent his Ambassadors to desire their assistance for his Nephew Ferrando, according to their obligation by their late League with Alfonso; but the Florentines returned

that they did not think themselves obliged to assist the Son in a Quarrel commenced by the Father; and as it was begun without their consent or knowledge, so without any assistance from them it might be continued or ended. Whereupon, in behalf of their King, the Ambassador protested them guilty of the breach of the League, and responsible for all the Losses which should follow; and having done that, in a great huff they departed. During the Revolutions in this War the Florentines were at quiet abroad, but at home it was otherwise, as shall be shown more particularly in the following Book.

BOOK VII.

IN the reading of the last Book it may appear, possibly, impertinence and a digression for a Writer of the Florentine History to have broke out and expatiated upon the Affairs of Lombardy and Naples. Yet I have done it, and shall do it for the future. For though I never professed to write the Transactions of Italy, yet I never bound myself up from giving a relation of such important and memorable Passages as would make our History more grateful and intelligible; especially seeing, from the Actions of other Princes and States, Wars and Troubles did many times arise in which the Florentines were of necessity involved. For Example, the War betwixt Jean of Anjou and King Ferrando proclaimed in them so great a Hatred and Animosity one towards the other, that it was continued afterwards betwixt Ferrando and the Florentines, and more particularly the House of Medici. For King Ferrando complaining, not only that they had refused him their Assistance, but given it to his Enemies, that Resentment of his was the occasion of much Mischief, as will be shown in our Narration.

And because in my Description of our Foreign Affairs I am advanced to the Year 1463, being returned to our Domestick, it will be necessary to look back for several Years. But first, by way of Introduction (as my custom), I shall say that they who imagine a Commonwealth may be continued united are egregiously mistaken. True it is Dissension does many times hurt, but sometimes it advantages a State. It hurts when it is accompanied with Parties and Factions; it helps when it has none. Seeing, therefore, it is impossible for any Legislator or Founder of a Republick to provide there should be no Piques nor Unkindness betwixt Men, it is his business, what he can, to secure them against growing into Parties and Clans. It is then to be considered that there are two ways for Citizens to advance

themselves to Reputation among their Neighbours, and they are, either publickly or privately. The publick way is, by gaining some Battle, surprizing and distressing some Town, performing some Embassy carefully and prudently, or counselling their State wisely and with success; the private way is, by being kind to their Fellow-Citizens, by defending them from the Magistrates, supplying them with Money, promoting them to Honours, and with Plays and publick Exhibitions to ingratiate with the People. This last way produces Parties and Factions, and as the Reputation acquired that way is dangerous and fatal, so the other way it is beneficial (if it sides with no Party) as extending to the Publick! And although among Citizens of such qualification there must needs be Emulations and Jealousies, yet wanting Partisans and People which for their Advantage will follow them, they are rather a convenience than otherwise to a Government; for to make themselves more eminent and conspicuous than their Competitors they employ all their Faculties for its Advancement, prying and observing one another's Actions so strictly that neither dares venture to transgress.

'The Emulations in Florence were always with Faction, and for that reason always were dangerous; nor was any Party unanimous any longer than it had an adverse Party in being, for that being overcome, and the predominant Party having no fear nor order to restrain it, subdivided on course. Cosimo de' Medici's Party prevailed in the Year 1434; but (the depressed Party being great and many powerful Men among them) for a while they continued unanimous and supportable, committing no Exorbitance among themselves nor Injustice to the People which might beget them their hatred.' Insomuch as whenever they had use of the People for their readvancement to any Place of Authority, they found them always ready to confer it upon the chief of that Party, whether it was the Balia or any other Power which they desired; and so from the Year 1434–55 (which was twenty-one Years) they were six times created of the Balia by the Councils of the People.

'There were in Florence (as we have many times hinted) two principal Citizens, Cosimo de' Medici and Neri Capponi. Neri had gained his Reputation in the publick way, and had many Friends, but few Partisans. Cosimo, on the other side, had ad-

vanced himself both ways, and had Friends and Partisans both; and these two continuing Friends whilst they lived together, they could ask nothing of the People but it was readily granted, because Unanimity went along with the Power. But Neri dying in the Year 1455, and the adverse Party being extinct, the Government found great difficulty to recover its Authority; and Cosimo's great Friends were the cause of it, who were willing to detract from his Authority now his Adversaries were suppressed. This was the beginning of the Divisions in 1466, in which Year, in a solemn Council where the publick Administration was debated, those to whom the Government at that time belonged advised that there should be no Balia for the future, that the way of Imborsation should be laid aside, and the Magistrates be chosen by Lots, as in the former Squittinis or Elections. To obviate this Humour Cosimo had two ways, either to possess himself forcibly of the Government by the Power of his Party and depose his Enemies, or to let things go which way they would, and attend till time should make his Friends discern that they did not take the Government and Authority so much for him as from themselves. Of the two he made choice of the last, knowing that, according to that Constitution, the Purses being full of his Friends, he could without any danger reassume his Authority when he pleased. The City being thus reduced to its old way of Creation of Magistrates by Lots, they thought they had perfectly recovered their Liberty, and that for the future Elections were to be made not according to the influence of the Nobility, but the inclination of the People. So that sometimes the Friend of one Grandee was rejected, and sometimes of another; and those whose Houses were formerly full of Clients and their Presents had now scarce Household stuff left or Servant to attend them. Those who were formerly their Inferiors were now their Equals, and their Equals advanced to be their Superiors: they were not regarded nor respected, but rather derided and abused, all People taking the freedom to talk of them and their Government as they pleased, even in the Streets and Highways, without any contradiction; so that it was not long after they discovered that, as he had told them, it was not so much Cosimo as themselves which were degraded.

However, Cosimo took no notice, but in all Propositions that

would please the People he was the first who concurred. But that which was most terrible to the Nobility and made Cosimo look about him was the receiving of the Castrato of the Year 1427, by which the Impositions were to be laid by order of Law, and not by the Capricios of particular Men. This Law being revived and Magistrates already chosen to put it in execution, the Nobility assembled, and went to Cosimo to beg of him that he would be a means to rescue them out of the Jaws of the People, and restore the State to a Condition that might make him powerful and them honourable. To which Cosimo replied, he would do it with all his heart, provided it might be done legally by the consent of the People and without any Force, of which he could not endure to hear. Then they endeavoured in the Councils to prevail for a new Balia, but they could not obtain it; whereupon they returned to Cosimo and pressed him with all Expressions of Humility that he would consent to a Parliament; but Cosimo (resolved to make them fully sensible of their Error) absolutely refused it; and because Donati Cochi (being Gonfaloniere di Giustizia at that time) presumed to call a Parliament without his consent, Cosimo made him so ridiculous and contemptible in the Senate, he was not able to continue there, but as a distracted Man was sent home again to his House. Nevertheless, lest things should run too far to be recovered, Luca Pitti (a bold and tenacious Man) being made Gonfaloniere di Giustizia, he thought it a convenient time to have the Government to him, that if anything miscarried in that Enterprize, it might be imputed to Luca. And accordingly Luca, in the very beginning of his Office, urged the People many times to the restauration of the Balia, threatening those of the Councils with opprobrious and insolent Language; and not long after, he executed what he had threatened; for in August 1453, in the Vigil of San Lorenzo, having filled the Palace with Armed Men, he called the People together in the Piazza, and constrained them by force to consent to what they had voluntarily refused. Having repossessed themselves of the State, created a new Balia, and changed the Magistrates according to the pleasure of a few, that the beginning of their Government might be as terrible as it was forcible, they confined Girolamo Machiavelli and some others, and deprived many of their Honours. Girolamo not being exact in observing his bounds, was proscribed;

and wandering up and down Italy to excite the several Princes against his own Country, by the Treachery of one of the Senators in Lunigiana he was apprehended, brought back to Florence, and executed in Prison. This Government (which lasted eight Years) was very violent and insupportable; for Cosimo being grown old, weary of Business, and infirm in his Body, could not be so sedulous as formerly; so that the City was become a Prey to a few particular Citizens, who, in requital of his good Service to the State, made Luca Pitti a Knight, and he (in return of their Kindness) appointed, that whereas before they were called Priori dell' Arti, now (that they might at least retain the Title, though they lost the Possession) they should be called Priori della Liberta. He ordered likewise, that whereas formerly the Gonfaloniere sat on the Right-hand of the Rettori, they should sit in the midst of them hereafter; and (that God might have His share in the Revolution) he caused solemn Services and Processions to be performed, by way of thanks for the Honours to which they were restored.

Luca was richly presented both by Cosimo and the Senate; after whom the whole City came in flocks, so that it was believed he had given him that Day to the value of 20,000 Ducats; by which means he grew into such Reputation, that not Cosimo but he was looked upon as the Governour of the City; and he arrived at that point of Vanity to begin two stately and magnificent Houses, one in Florence and the other at Rucina, not above a Mile's distance from the City. But that in Florence was greater and more splendid than the House of any other private Citizen whatsoever; for the finishing of which he baulked no extraordinary way; for not only the Citizens and better sort presented him and furnished him with what was necessary about it, but the common People gave him of all them their Assistance. Besides, all that were banished, or guilty of Murder, Felony, or any other thing which exposed them to publick Punishment, had Sanctuary at that House, provided they would give him their Labour. The rest of his Brethren, though they built not such Houses, they were no less rapacious than he; so that, though Florence had no Wars abroad to destroy it, it had Citizens at home, in its own Bowels, which would not suffer it to prosper. In the meantime, as we have said before, the Wars happened in the Kingdom of

Naples, and the Pope had difference with the Malatesti in Romagna concerning Rimini and Cesana, which they had taken from him, and desired to recover; so that, betwixt the thoughts of that and the Enterprize against the Turks, the time of Pius his whole Papacy was consumed. But Florence fell again into its old Factions and Dissensions.

'The Divisions in Cosimo's Party began in '55, upon the occasions aforesaid; and by his wisdom (as is said before) they were restrained.' But in '64 Cosimo fell sick and died, generally lamented, both by his Friends and his Enemies; for they who loved him not whilst at the Helm, seeing their Fellow-Citizens so rapacious whilst he was living (the Reverence they bore to his Person making them less insupportable than otherwise they would be) could not but fear, now he was dead and his Influence lost, they should be utterly ruined. And in his Son Piero they could repose little Confidence; for though he was of himself a good Man, yet being infirm and but young in the State, they supposed he would be constrained to comply with them, and they become more headstrong and incontroulable in their Wickedness. So that Cosimo died universally lamented, and certainly he deserved it, for he was the most famous and memorable Citizen (of a Person that was no Soldier) that ever Florence or any other City produced. He exceeded all his Contemporaries, not only in Authority and Estate, but in Liberality and Prudence, which Qualities made him a Prince in his Country and beloved by all People. His Munificence was more eminent after his death than before; for when his Son Piero came to look over his Writing, and to enquire into the particulars of his Estate, he found there was scarce a Man of any quality in the City to whom Cosimo had not lent a considerable Sum; and many times when he heard of the Exigencies of any Person of Quality, he supplied them unasked. His Magnificence appeared in the multitude of his Buildings; for in Florence he built the Convents of S. Marco and S. Lorenzo, and the Monastery of S. Verdiano. In the Monti di Fiesole, S. Girolamo, and the Abbey in Mugello he not only repaired a Church of the Minors', but he took it down and rebuilt it from the ground. Besides this, in S. Croce, in Servi, in Agnoli, in S. Mineato, he erected Altars and most sumptuous Chapels; all which, besides the Building, he adorned with all the Utensils and Decorations

required in so sacred a Place. Besides these Religious Houses, he built several private Houses for himself, one in the City suitable to his Quality; four without, at Careggio, Fiesole, Casaggivolo, and Trebi, all of them fitter for Princes than private Men: and, as if his buildings in Italy were too few to make him famous, he built an Hospital in Jerusalem for the reception and relief of poor and infirm Pilgrims brought thither by their Devotion, in which Fabrick he laid out a vast Sum of Money. And albeit in his Actions and Buildings he behaved himself like a King, and was the only Prince in Florence, yet he was so moderate and untransported in all things, that in his Conversation, his Parades, his Alliances, and his whole manner of Life he retained the modesty of a Citizen; for he was sensible that Ostentation and Pomp in that which is every day to be seen contracts more Envy than Moderation and Gravity. Being to seek for Matches for his Sons, he did not endeavour for the Alliance of Princes, but married his Son Giovanni to Cornelia Alessandria, and Piero to Lucretia Tornabuoni; and contracted his Grandchildren by Piero, Bianca to Gulielmo di Pazzi, and Nannina to Bernardo Rucellai. Among all the States, Princes, and Civil Governments of his time, no Person came near him for Sagacity and Intelligence. Hence it was that in all the variety of his Fortunes, when the City was so uncertain and the People so voluble, he kept his Authority thirty-one Years; for being a wise Man and of great Prospect, he foresaw any mischief at a distance, and was ready to prevent it before it proceeded too far, or to frustrate the Effects of it if it did. Whereby he did not only subdue all domestick and private Ambition at home, but restrained it so happily in several Princes, that whoever confederated with him and his Country came off upon equal Terms, if not worsted their Enemies; and whoever opposed him eitheir lost their Money, their Time, or their State; and of this the Venetians can give ample Testimony, who whilst in League with him against Duke Philip, were always victorious; but that League was no sooner broken but they were beaten both by Philip and Francesco: and when they joined with Alfonso against the Republick of Florence, Cosimo with his own credit drained Naples and Venice so dry, that they were glad to accept what Terms of Peace he would allow. Of all the difficulties therefore which Cosimo encountered both within the City

and without, the Conclusion was still honourable for him and destructive for his Enemies; so that the civil Discords gained him Authority at home, and his foreign Wars Power and Reputation abroad; insomuch that to the Territory and Dominion of his Country he added the City of Borgo a Sepolcro, Montedoglio, Casentino, and Val di Bagno, and by his virtue and fortune suppressed his Enemies and exalted his Friends. He was born 1389, on S. Cosimo and Damiano's day. The first part of his Life was full of Troubles; witness his Banishment, his Imprisonment, and his Dangers in being killed. From the Council of Constance, after Pope John was ruined (whom he had attended thither), he was forced to fly in disguise, or otherwise he had been slain. But after the fortieth Year of his Age it was more pleasant and happy; not only such as were employed with him in publick Affairs, but the Managers also of his private Treasure in foreign Parts, participating of his Felicity. From him many Families in Florence may derive their great Estates, particularly the Fornabuoni, the Benci, the Portinari, the Sapetti, and in short all that had dependence either upon his Counsel or Fortune.

Though his Disbursements were vast in building his Houses and Temples, and in his Distributions to the Poor, yet he would complain sometimes among his Friends that he had not laid out so much to the honour of God as he was obliged, and that if he had done much more he must confess Himself his Debtor. His Stature was ordinary, his Complexion worthy, his Presence venerable. His Learning was not great, but his Eloquence admirable; he was naturally prudent, courteous to his Friends, merciful to the Poor, profitable in his Converse, cautious in his Counsels, speedy in his Executions, and in his Sayings and Replies both solid and facetious. When he went first into Banishment Rinaldo degli Albizi (drolling upon his Excitement) sent him word, The Hen was hatching; to which Cosimo returned that she would have but ill hatching so far from her Nest. To some of his Rebels who in a threatening way sent him word, They were not asleep, he replied, He believed, for he had spoiled their sleeping. When Pope Pius was encouraging and pressing all Christian Princes against the Turk, Cosimo said, The Pope was an old Man, but he had begun an Enterprize as if he had been a Boy. To the Venetian Ambassadors, who came to Florence with the Ambassadors

of Alfonso, to complain of that Commonwealth, putting his Hat off to them, he demanded the colour of his Hair. They told him it was grey; he replied, In time your Senators' will be of the same Colour. Not many hours before his Death, his Wife seeing him shut his eyes, enquired why he did so, and he told her, To use them. Some Citizens after his return complaining to him that the City would be depopulated and God Almighty offended if he banished so many Wealthy and Religious Men, he told them, The City had better be depopulated than destroyed; that two yards of Cloth were enough to keep a Man from the cold, and that States were not to be preserved by the Beads a Man carried in his hand. These last Expressions gave his Enemies occasion to calumniate him as a Person that was a greater lover of himself than his Country, and one that took more care of this World than the next. Many other of his wise Sayings might be inserted, but being unnecessary, they are omitted. Cosimo was likewise a great lover and advancer of Learned Men; upon which score he entertained in Florence Argyropoulos, a Grecian, as learned as any in his time, that by him the Youth of Florence might be instructed in the Greek Tongue and in several of his Tenets. He entertained likewise in his House Marsilio Ficino, a great Patron of the Platonick Philosophy, whom he loved so entirely, and that he might follow his Studies with more convenience, he gave him a House near his own Palace at Careggi. So that his Prudence, his Beneficence, his Success, and his way of living made him be beloved and feared among the Citizens, and much esteemed by all Princes of Europe; whereby he left such a Foundation to his Posterity that by their Virtue they might equal him, by their Fortune transcend him, and obtain as much Honour as he had in Florence in all the Cities and Countries of Christendom. Nevertheless, towards the latter end of his Days he had several afflictions: he had but two Sons, Piero and Giovanni, of which Giovanni (the most hopeful) died; and Piero, who survived, was infirm, and by the weakness of his Body unfit either for publick or private business; so that after the death of his Son, causing himself to be carried about his House, he sighed and said, This House is too big for so small a Family.

It troubled him also that he had not (in his Judgment) enlarged the Dominion of the Florentine State nor added to its Empire

any considerable Acquest; and it troubled him the more for that he found himself cheated by Francesco, who, when he was but Count, had promised him, as soon as he had made himself Master of Milan, to employ his Arms against Lucca in the behalf of the Florentines; but his Mind changed with his Fortune, and having got to be the Duke of Milan, had a desire to enjoy in Peace what he had obtained by War; so that after his Elevation he never meddled in foreign Concerns, nor made any more Wars than were necessary for his own defence; which was a great disturbance to Cosimo, who now discerned he had been at great pains and expence to advance a Man who was both false and ungrateful. He perceived likewise that, in respect of his Age and the Infirmities of his Body, he was not able to apply himself to publick or private Business as he was wont; and he saw both the one and the other decline, the City going to wrack by the Dissensions of the Citizens, and his Fortune by his Ministers and Sons. These Considerations gave him no little disquiet towards his end, yet he died full of Glory and Renown. All the Cities and Princes of Christendom sent their Compliments of Condolency to his Son Piero; the whole City attended his Corpse with great Solemnity to the Grave, and by publick Decree it was inscribed upon his Tomb, *Padre della Patria.*

I If, in my Description and Character of Cosimo, I have rather followed the Example of those who have written the Lives of Princes than of a Historian, it is not to be admired. He was a Person extraordinary in our City, and I thought myself obliged to give him a more than ordinary Commendation.] During the time that Italy and Florence were in the Condition aforesaid Lewis King of France was infested with a furious War which his Barons (at the instigation of Francis Duke of Britain and Charles Duke of Burgundy) had raised. This War lay so heavy upon him, he could not assist Giovanni in his Designs upon Genoa and Naples, but believing he had need enough of all the Supplies he could get, he called back his Forces; and Savona being at that time in the hands of the French, he ordered it to be delivered to the Count, and left him if he pleased to pursue the Enterprize against Genoa. The Count was easily persuaded to a thing so much to his Advantage, so that by the reputation of his Amity with the French King and the Assistance given him by the Adorni, he

possessed himself of Genoa, and, in gratitude to the French King, sent him a Supply of 1500 Horse into France, under the Command of his eldest Son Galeazzo. By this means Ferrando of Aragon and Francesco Sforza remained at quiet, the one Duke of Lombardy and Lord of Genoa, the other King of the whole Kingdom of Naples; and having contracted Alliances together and married their Children the one to the other, they began to consider how they might secure their States to themselves whilst they lived, and to their Heirs when they were dead.

In order to this it was thought necessary the King should make sure of such of his Barons as had sided against him in his Wars with Jean of Anjou, and the Duke should endeavour to extirpate all that had been Favourers of the Bracci, who were mortal Enemies to the said Duke, and at that time in great Reputation, under the Conduct of Giacopo Piccinino. For Giacopo being the greatest Captain in Italy, and having no Sovereignty of his own, it concerned all who had any to have an eye over him, and more especially the Duke, who thought he could not enjoy his Dominion safely himself nor leave it to his Sons whilst Giacopo was living. Hereupon the King, with all industry, endeavoured an Accord with his Barons, used all possible Art to reconcile himself to them; and he succeeded with much difficulty, for they found that whilst they were in Wars with the King they must certainly be ruined, but by Accommodation with their Differences, and trusting themselves to him, there was only a hazard; and because Men do always avoid those Evils with more readiness which are most certain, Princes do easily deceive such as are not able to contend. The Barons seeing nothing before them but Destruction if they continued the War, accepted his Conditions and threw themselves into his Arms; but not long after sundry pretences were taken against them, and they were all of them extinguished. Which News was so terrible to Giacopo Piccinino (who was then with his Forces at Solmona) that, by the Mediation of his Friends, he immediately practised his Reconciliation with the Duke; and the Duke having offered him honourable Terms, Giacopo resolved to accept them and come in; and accordingly he went to Milan to present himself to him, attended by 100 Horse. Giacopo had served under his Father and with his Brother a long time, first for Duke Philip, and then for the

People of Milan; so that by long conversation in those Parts he had got a good Interest and was generally beloved, and the present Condition of Affairs had much increased it; for the Prosperity and Grandeur of the Sforzeschi had created them Envy, and Giacopo's Adversity and long Absence had gained him compassion, among the People, and a great desire to see him anvanced: all which Kindness discovered itself at his arrival, there being scarce any of the Nobility but went out to meet him, the Streets were full of People to behold him, and no talk in the whole City but of him and his Family. But their extravagant Acclamations were his Ruin; for as they increased the Duke's Jealousy, so they confirmed his Resolution to remove him; and that it might be done the more plausibly, and with less danger of Detection, he ordered that his Marriage with Drusiana, his natural Daughter (to whom he had been contracted long before), should be consummated. After which he practised with Ferrando to entertain him as General of his Army, and to give him 10,000 Florins by way of advance. Upon conclusion of these Articles Giacopo and his Wife accompanied an Ambassador from the Duke to Naples, where they were all very well received, and for several Days entertained with all imaginable Affluence and Diversion; but desiring leave to pass to his Army at Solmona, he was invited by the King into the Castle, and after Supper both he and his Son Francesco were apprehended and clapped up into Prison, where not long after they were murdered.

Thus were the Princes of Italy jealous of that Vertue which they had not in themselves; and not enduring it in other People, they exposed that Country to Calamities which not long after afflicted and destroyed it.

Pope Pius having in the meantime accommodated the Differences in Romagna, and finding an universal Peace all over Europe, thought it a convenient time to solicit the Christians against the Turks, and reassumed the whole Methods which his Predecessors had taken, by which all the Princes of Christendom were prevailed withal to assist either with Money or Men. Matheo, King of Hungary, and Charles, Duke of Burgundy, engaged to go in Person, and were made Generals of that Enterprize by the Pope, who was so well pleased with what he had done that he went from Rome to Ancona to be at the Rendezvous of the

Army, which was to meet there, and (by Ships which the Venetians had promised to furnish) be transported into Sclavonia. After the arrival of his Holiness there was so great a throng and confluence of People that in a few Days all their Provision was devoured, and the neighbouring Towns not being able to supply, everybody was ready to starve for hunger: besides which, they neither had Money to pay the Soldier nor Weapons to arm them; there was neither Duke of Burgundy nor King of Hungary there. The Venetians indeed had sent a few Gallies under one of their Captains, but it was rather to show their Pomp than to perform their Promise, so far were they unfit for the Transportation of an Army. So that in the midst of these Disasters, by reason of his great Age and Infirmities, the Pope died; the whole Army disbanded, and returned to their own homes. Pope Pius dying in the Year 1465, Paul II. (by Birth a Venetian) was elected in his Place. And as most of the Principalities in Italy had changed their Governors about that time, so Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, died, after he had enjoyed that Dukedom sixteen Years, and Galeazzo, his Son, was declared his Successor.

The Death of this Prince was the occasion that the Divisions in Florence increased and broke out much sooner than otherwise they would have done. Cosimo being dead, Piero, his Son, succeeded both to his Authority and Estate; and having called to him Diotisalvi Neroni, as honourable and great a Man as most in the City (by whom Cosimo upon his Death-bed had commanded his Son Piero to be governed in all his Affairs), he let him know the great confidence his Father had reposed in him, and that being desirous to obey him after his Death, as he had done whilst he was living, he did entreat his Advice not only in his private and domestick Affairs, but in his publick Administration of the Government; and that he might begin first with his own particular Business, he would show him the Accounts and Books of his Estate, that he might understand how things stood, and direct him afterwards as he pleased. Diotisalvi promised to be ready and faithful; but the Accounts being produced and examined, were found very disorderly and imperfect. Diotisalvi (as a Person which respected his own Interest more than his Professions to Piero or his Obligations to his Father, supposing it easy to rob him of his Reputation and divest him of the Authority which

Cosimo had left him as hereditary) came to him therefore with Counsel very fair and reasonable in appearance, but inwardly destructive and pernicious. He represented to him the disorder of his Accounts, and what Sums of Money would be necessary to have by him if he meant to keep up his Credit or preserve his Preferment in the State: he told him that those disorders were not any way so readily to be redressed, nor his Coffers so naturally supplied, as by calling in such Sums as were owing to his Father both abroad and at home. For Cosimo, to gain himself an Interest, had been very ready to accommodate anybody that wanted, and the Monies he had lent amounted to an incredible Sum. Piero was well satisfied with his Advice, and thinking it but just, he called in his Money; but no sooner had he done it but the Citizens cried out upon him, declaimed against him as ungrateful and covetous, and used him as opprobriously as if he had robbed them and not demanded his own.

Diotisalvi finding his design succeed, and that Piero was fallen into disgrace with the People, he consulted with Luca Pitti, Agnolo Acciaivoli, and Nicolo Soderini how they might depose him. They were all of them ready to embrace the Design, but upon several Grounds and Provocations. Luca desired to succeed Piero in his Command, for he was grown so great he disdained to obey him; Diotisalvi knew Luca was not fit to be Chief in the Government, and therefore he thought if Piero was removed, in a short time that Authority would devolve upon him; Nicolo Soderini had a mind the City should be more free, and governed by direction of the chief Magistrates; Agnolo had a private Quarrel to the Medici for several Reasons, and particularly these: Raffaello, his Son, had long before married Alessandri de Bardi, and had a great Fortune with her. This Lady, either for his own Defects or other People's, was ill-treated by both Father-in-Law and Husband. Lorenzo d' Ilarione, a young Gentleman, her Relation, pitying her Condition, went with certain of his Comrades one Night well armed, and took her by force out of the House of Agnolo. The Acciaivoli complained heavily of the Outrage, and the Cause being referred to Cosimo, he awarded that the Acciaivoli should refund her Portion, and that then it should be left to the Lady's election whether she would return to her Husband or no. Agnolo did not think Cosimo, in this Determination, had

dealt with him as a Friend, and not being able to revenge it upon him, he resolved to do it upon his Son. Yet, though their Reasons and Ends were diverse, the Conspirators agreed all in their pretence that the City should not be governed by a peculiar Council, but by the Magistrates. The hatred of the People and their occasions to revile him were much exaggerated by the failing of several Merchants about that time, which was objected to Piero as a great prejudice to the City, as if the calling in of his Money had broke them. To this Aspersion it was added that he was negotiating a match for his eldest Son Lorenzo with Clarice, a Daughter of the Orsini, which they took in great dudgeon, and upbraided him by it, declaring that it was now apparent what he drove at, and that, thinking his Son too good for any Alliance in Florence, it was manifest he did not now look upon himself as a Citizen, but was casting about how he might make himself Sovereign; for he was too proud to have the Citizens to his Kindred, had a desire to make them his Subjects, and therefore he did not desire to have them his Friends. These Conspirators believed they had all sure in their hands, for the greater part of the Citizens being deluded with the name of Liberty (with which the Conspirators had gilded and embellished their designs), had professed themselves on their side. There being a general ebolition of these sort of Humours at that time in the City, it was thought convenient by some that were not at all taken with them, seeing they could not be absolutely depressed, to find out a way to discuss and divert them; for whilst the People are idle they are proper Instruments for any Commotion. To employ them therefore, and remove their Thoughts from contriving against the Government (it being a compleat Year since Cosimo died), for the entertainment and recreation of the City, they took occasion to make two publick and solemn Feasts or Shows (which are usual there). One of them represented the three Wise-men who were conducted by the Star to the place where our Saviour was born, and this was performed with so much Pomp and Magnificence, that for several Months together the whole City was employed about the Pageants and Preparation. The other was called a Tournament (which is a kind of skirmishing on Horseback), in which the young Gentlemen of the City had challenged the most eminent Knights of Italy; and among these young

Gentlemen, Lorenzo, the eldest son of Piero, carried the Applause, not by favour or partiality, but by his own valour and dexterity.

But these Sports and Divertisements were no sooner over but the Citizens returned to their old Jealousies, and every one pursued his own fancy with more eagerness than before, which occasioned great Feuds, and they were augmented much by two unfortunate Accidents. The one was, that the Authority of the Balia was expired; the other, that Francesco, Duke of Milan, was dead, upon whose death the new Duke, Galeazzo, sent Ambassadors to Florence to confirm the Capitulations which his Father, Francesco, had made with that City; one of the Articles obliging them to pay Francesco an annual Sum of Money. The chief of the adverse Party thinking this a fair opportunity, opposed the Medici in the Ratification; alledging that the Agreement was made with Francesco, not with his Son, and that Francesco being dead, the Obligation was void; for Galeazzo was not so great and considerable as his Father, and therefore his Amity unlikely to be so profitable; so that, though indeed there was not much gained by Francesco, there was less to be expected from his Son; and if any Citizen, to maintain his own private Interest, would pay him his Annuity, it would be against the freedom and the safety of the City.

To this Piero replied, that so important an Alliance was not so carelessly to be lost; that nothing was more advantageous and necessary (as well for all Italy as Florence) than their Alliance with the Duke; for thereby the Venetians would be discouraged from attempting upon that Duchy, either by counterfeit Friendship or manifest War. But should this Alliance be dissolved, no sooner would it be known to the Venetians but they would fall immediately upon the Duke; and finding him young, without Friends, and scarce warm in the State, they would easily carry it from him, either by fallacy or force; and in either of those Cases the Commonwealth of Florence must be destroyed. But his Reasons could not be accepted; the Sedition began to break out openly. The adverse Party assembled in several Companies in the Night, the greatest part of them in La Pista, and the Friends of the Medici in the Crocetta. The Conspirators being impatient to have Piero destroyed, had gotten the Subscription of several Citizens as favourers of their designs. But being got together,

one Night above the rest, after solemn debate in Council which way they were to proceed, it was unanimously agreed that the power of the Medici should be rebated; but they were divided in the way. The most moderate part proposed, that seeing the Balia was extinct, they should only take care it should not be revived; for if the Government fell into the Hands of the Councils and Magistrates (as it would do of course), in small time Piero's Authority would evaporate, and with that his Interest among the Merchants; for his Affairs were now in such a posture that unless he could relieve himself by the publick Treasure, he would be certainly ruined; and when that should happen there would be no farther danger of him, their Liberty would be recovered without Banishment or Blood, which all good Citizens ought to desire; but if Force was applied, infinite hazards might occur. If one be falling of himself, nobody thrusts him; if any one thrusts him, everybody sustains him. Besides, if nothing extraordinary being acted against him, he will have no occasion to Arm or strengthen his Party; and if he should, it must be with great Charge and Disadvantage; for every one would suspect him, which would facilitate and hasten his Ruin. Others were not satisfied with this delay, affirming that time would be more for his benefit than theirs, and if they would proceed by cold dilatory Gradations, Piero would run no hazard, but they should run many. For the Magistrates, though they were his Enemies, suffering him to enjoy the Privileges of the City, his Friends would make him Prince (as had happened in '58), to their utter destruction; and that though that Council was honest and peaceable, yet this was wiser and more secure, and therefore to be executed whilst the minds of the People were incensed. The way they proposed was to Arm at home and to entertain the Marquess of Ferrara into their Pay abroad; and when a Senate of their Friends happened to meet, then to rise and secure themselves as well as they could. The result of all was, that they should attend such a Senate, and then make the best of their time. Nicolo Fedini (who was employed as Chancellor) was one of this Council, who, being tempted by greater and more practicable hopes, discovered the whole Plot to Piero, and gave him a List of the Conspirators and a Catalogue of the Subscriptions. Piero was astonished at the number and quality of his Adversaries, and upon consultation with his Friends it

was concluded that he also should take Subscriptions; and having committed the care of them to some of his Confidants, he found the Citizens so fickle and unstable that many of them who had subscribed to the Enemy came over and obliged themselves to him. Whilst things were in this distraction, the time came about in which the Supream Magistracy was to be renewed, to which Nicolo Soderini was advanced by the Gonfaloniere de Giustizia. It was a wonder to see the Concourse not only of the better sort of Citizens, but of the common People, which attended him to the Palace, and put on an Olive Garland upon his Head by the way (to signifie that he was the Person upon whom the Safety and the Liberty of their City did depend). By this, and many Examples of the same nature, it is evident how inconvenient it is to enter upon the Magistracy or Government with more than ordinary Acclamation; for not being able to perform as is expected (and for the most part more is required), the People abate of their esteem and come by degrees to despise you. Thomaso and Nicolo Soderini were Brothers; Nicolo was a Person of greater Spirit, but Thomaso the more prudent. Thomaso being a Friend to Piero, and knowing the Humour of his Brother, that he desired the Liberty of the City, and that the Government might be preserved without offence to anybody, he encouraged him to a new Squittini, by which means the Borsi might be filled with the Names of such Citizens as were lovers of Liberty, and the Government continued without violence, as he desired. Nicolo was easily persuaded by his Brother, and suffered the time of his Magistracy to expire in the vanity of that Opinion; and his Friends which were of the Conspiracy were well enough contented, as being already emulous of him, and not desiring the Reformation should fall out during his Authority, presuming they could effect it when they pleased, though another was Gonfaloniere. Whereupon his Office expired with less Honour than he entered upon it, by reason he had begun many good things, but perfected nothing.

This Accident fortified the Party of Piero exceedingly, confirmed his Friends, and brought over such as were neuter; so that though all things were ready on all sides, they were delayed for several Months, and not the least Tumult appeared. Nevertheless, Piero's Party increasing, his Enemies began to resent it, and

met together to perform that by force which they might more easily have done before by means of the Magistrates; in order to which they concluded to kill Piero (who was at that same time sick at Coreggi) and cause the Marquess of Ferrara to advance towards the City; for when Piero was dead they resolved to come armed to the Palace and force the Senate to settle the Government as they should direct; for though all of them were not their Friends, yet they doubted not but to frighten them into a concurrence. Diotisalvi, to disguise his Design, visited Piero very often, discoursed with him about uniting the Factions, and advised him very frankly. But Piero was informed of the whole Conspiracy, and, besides, Domenico Martegli had given him notice that Francesco Neroni, the Brother of Diotisalvi, had been tempting him to their Party, assuring him of Success. Hereupon Piero resolved to be first in Arms, and took occasion from their Practices with the Marquess of Ferrara. He pretended he had received a Letter from Giovanni Bentivogli, Prince of Bologna, importing that the Marquess of Ferrara was with certain Forces upon the River Albo, and that it was given out his design was for Florence; upon which Intelligence Piero pretended to arm, and (attended by a great number of armed Men) he came to the City. At his arrival his whole Party took Arms, and the Adversary did the same, yet not in so good order as Piero, for his Men were prepared and the other surprized. Diotisalvi's Palace being not far from Piero's, Diotisalvi judged himself insecure at home, and therefore went up and down, sometimes exhorting the Senate to cause Piero to lay down his Arms, sometimes seeking out Luca and encouraging him to be constant. But the briskest and most courageous of them all was Nicolo Soderini, who, taking Arms immediately, and being followed by most of the Populace of his Quarter, went to Luca's House, entreated him to mount and march with him to the Palace for the security of the Senate, who (he assured him) were of his side; by doing of which the Victory would be certain; but if he remained in his House he would run the hazard of being slain by those who were armed, or abused by those who were not; and then he would repent him when too late, whereas now it was in his Power by force of Arms to ruin Piero if he pleased; or if he desired Peace it was more honourable to give Conditions than to receive them. But all his Rhetorick could not work upon Luca.

He had altered his mind and received new promises of Alliances and Rewards from Piero, and already married one of his Nieces to Giovanni Tornabuoni; so that, instead of being persuaded by him, he admonished Nicolo to lay down and return quietly to his House; for he ought to be satisfied that the City should be governed by its Magistrates; for whether he was satisfied or not, it would be so; all People would lay down their Arms, and the Senate, having the stronger Party, would be Judges of their Quarrel. There being no remedy, and Nicolo having nowhere else to dispose himself, went back to his House; but before he departed he told him thus:—

I cannot alone do this City any service, but I can prognosticate its Miseries. The Resolution you have taken will deprive your Country of its Liberty, yourself of your Authority, me of my Estate, and others of their Country.

At the first news of this Tumult the Senate had caused their Palace to be shut up, where they kept themselves close with the Magistrates, without appearing for either side. The Citizens (especially those who had followed Luca, seeing the Party of Piero armed and the other disarmed) began to contrive how they might shew themselves his Friends, not how they might express themselves his Enemies. Whereupon the principal Citizens and the Heads of the Factions met in the Palace before the Senators, where many things were debated relating to the Government of the City in that juncture, and the ways of Reconciliation; but because Piero could not be there in respect of his Indisposition, all agreed to go to him to his House except Nicolo Solderini, who (having recommended his Children and Family to the protection of Tomaso) was retired to his Country-house, to attend there the conclusions of these Troubles, which he expected would be unhappy to him and fatal to his Country. The rest being arrived at Piero's Palace, one of them being deputed, complained to him of the Condition of the City by reason of the Tumults, declared that they who took Arms first were most conscious of them; that understanding Piero was the Man, and his design unknown, they were come to him to be informed from himself, and if it appeared to be for the advantage of the City, they promised to comply. To which Piero replied, that he who takes Arms first is not in the fault, but he who gives the occasion; that if they con-

sidered more seriously of their Behaviour towards him, they would not wonder at what he had done for his own Preservation; for they would find it was their Conventions in the Night, their Subscriptions, and Practices to defeat him both of his Authority and Life which had forced him to his Arms; yet, having extended them no farther than his own House, he conceived it was good Evidence his Intentions were innocent, and rather to defend himself than injure anybody else; that he desired nothing but his own Security, and had never given them occasion to suspect him of other; that when the Authority of the Balia expired he never attempted to revive it in any extraordinary way, but was willing (if they were so themselves) that the Magistrates should have the Government of the City; that Cosimo and his Sons knew how to live honourably in Florence either with or without the Balia, and that in '58 it was for their Interest, not his, that it was restored. But this was not sufficient; he found them of opinion that whilst he was in Florence there would be no Safety, no Tranquillity for them; a thing truly so far from his belief he could never have imagined or thought upon it, that his own Friends and his Father should not endure to live with him in the same City, seeing no Action of his had ever expressed him otherwise than a quiet and peaceable Man.

Then turning about to Diotisalvi and his Brothers, who were all present, he reproached them severely by the Favours they had received from Cosimo, by the Confidence he had placed in them, and the great Ingratitude which they had returned (which Reprimand was delivered with so much Zeal and Efficacy that, had not Piero himself restrained them, some there present were so much enraged at their deportment towards him they would certainly have killed him); and at last he concluded, that whatever they and the Senate determined he would consent to, for he desired nothing of them but to live quiet and in peace. Hereupon many things were proposed, but nothing concluded; only in general it was thought necessary the City should be reformed and new Laws created. The then Gonfaloniere de Giustizia was Bernardo Lotti, a Person in whom Piero had no confidence, and so resolved not to do anything whilst he was in Office, which he conceived would be no great prejudice to his Affairs, because his time was almost expired. But at the Election of Senators in September and October following, 1466, Roberto Lioni was chosen Gonfaloniere;

who was no sooner settled in his Office but (all other things being prepared to his hand) he called the People together into the Piazza and created a new Balia, all of Piero's Creatures, who fell presently upon the creation of new Magistrates, and chose them as Piero directed. Which manner of proceeding so terrified the Heads of the adverse Party, that they fled out of the City most of them; Agnolo Acciaivoli to Naples, Diotisalvi Neroni and Nicolo Soderini to Venice; but Luca Pitti remained behind, presuming upon his late Alliance and the Promises which he had received from Piero. Giovanni, the Son of Neroni, at that time Archbishop of Florence (to prevent the worst), banished himself voluntarily to Rome. All the Fugitives were proclaimed Rebels, and the Family of the Neroni dispersed. Many other Citizens were banished likewise, and confined to particular Places. Nor was this all; a solemn Procession was ordered, to give God thanks for the preservation of the State and the unity of the City: in the time of which Solemnity certain Citizens were apprehended, tortured, and then part of them put to death, and part of them banished. But in all the inconstancy and variations of Fortune, nothing was so remarkable as the fall of Luca Pitti. He quickly learned the difference betwixt Victory and Misfortune, betwixt Honour and Disgrace. His House (which was formerly thronged with the Visits and Attendances of the better sort of Citizens) was now grown solitary and unfrequented. When he appeared abroad in the Streets, his Friends and Relations were not only afraid to accompany him, but to own or salute him; some of them having lost their Honours for doing it, some of them their Estates, and all of them threatened. The noble Structures which he had begun were given over by the Workmen; the good Deeds which he had done were requited with contumely; and the Honours he had conferred, with Infamy and Disgrace. So that many Persons who in his Authority had presented him largely, in his Distress required it again, pretending it was lent, and no more; and these very People who before commended him to the Skies cried him down again as fast for his Ingratitude and Violence: so that now, when it was too late, he began to repent himself that he had not taken Nicolo's Advice, and died honourably, seeing he could not live so. Nevertheless, Agnolo Acciaivoli being then at Naples, before he attempted anything of Innovation,

he resolved to try Piero, and see if there were no hopes of Reconciliation; to which purpose he writ to him this following Letter:—

I cannot but smile to observe the wantonness of Fortune, and what Sport she makes herself in turning Friends into Enemies, and Enemies into Friends, according to her own Humour and Capricio. You may remember how at the Banishment of your Father, resenting the injury done to him above any danger of my own, I iost my country and escaped narrowly with my Life. In Cosimo's Days I refused no opportunity of honouring your Family; and since he died, I have entertained none to offend it. True it is the weakness of your Complexion and the minority of your Sons gave some kind of disquiet, and I was willing our Country might be put in such a posture as to subsist after your Death; whatever I have done was only to that end; not against you so much as for the benefit of my Country. If that was an Error, I am sorry for it, and do hope the innocence of my Intention, and the service of my former Actions may atone for it; nor can I fear but I shall find Mercy in a Family which has had so long experience of my Fidelity, or that one single Fault will be able to extinguish so many Obligations.

Piero having received this Letter, by the same Hand returned him this Answer:—

Your smiling at that distance is the reason I weep not where I am: were you so merry in Florence, I should be more melancholy at Naples. I grant you have been a well-wisher to my Father, and you confess he gratified you for it; so that if there be obligation on any side, it is on yours, because Deeds are more valuable than Words; and if you have been already rewarded for your good Actions, it is but reasonable you should be punished for your evil: your pretence of love to your Country cannot excuse you, for nobody but will believe the Medici as great Lovers and Propagators of their Country as the Acciaivoli. Live therefore where you are, in dishonour, since you had not the discretion to live honourably here.

Agnolo upon the receipt of this Letter, despairing of Pardon, removed his Quarters to Rome, where, associating with the Archbishop and the rest of the Exiles, they consulted what was the best way of lessening the Reputation of the Medici, which at that time was tottering in Rome, and gave Piero no small trouble to sustain it; but by the assistance of his Friends they failed of their design. Diotisalvi and Nicolo Soderini, on the other side, used

all possible diligence to provoke the Venetian Senate against their Country, supposing, its Government being new and ungrateful to many People, the first Invasion would shake it, and that it would not be able to stand. There was at that time in Ferrara, Giovanni Francesco, the Son of Palla Strozzi, who in the Revolutions in '34 was banished with his Father out of Florence. This Giovanni was a Man of great credit, and reputed as rich a Merchant as any in the City. These new Rebels insinuating with him, persuaded him how easie it would be to recover their Country whenever the Venetians would undertake it, and they doubted not but they would undertake it if part of the Charge could be defrayed; otherwise it was not to be expected. Giovanni was willing to revenge the Injuries he had received, believed what they said, and promised to assist with all the Money he could make; upon which Diotisalvi and Soderini addressed themselves to the Doge:—

Complained to him of their Banishment, which they pretended was for no other cause but that they were desirous their Country might be governed by the Laws, and the Magistrates, not a few of their Grandees, have the power to put them in execution. Upon this account it was that Piero de' Medici and his Followers, having been used to a tyrannical way, had taken Arms by an Artifice, disarmed them by a Cheat, and banished them by a fallacy; and as if this were not enough, God Almighty must be brought in, and made an Accessary to their Cruelty, whilst in a solemn Procession, and the sacred Exercise of their Devotion, many Citizens, who, upon Faith given that they should be safe, had remained behind, were seized, secured, tortured, and executed: a thing of most execrable and nefarious Example. To revenge the inhumanity of those Actions, and avert the Judgments which they would otherwise pull down upon their Country, they knew not where to apply themselves with more hopes than to that illustrious Senate, which having done so much for the preservation of their own Liberty, must needs have some compassion for such as have lost theirs. They beseeched them therefore, as Free-men, to assist them against their Tyrants; as merciful, against the merciless; and remember them how the Family of the Medici had defeated them of Lombardy, when Cosimo, contrary to the Inclinations of all the rest of the City, assisted Francesco against them; so that, if the equity of their Cause did not move them, the justice of their own Indignation might provoke them.

These last Words prevailed so far upon the Senate, that they resolved Bartolomeo Coligni, their General, should fall upon the Dominion of the Florentines; and to that purpose their Army being drawn together with all possible speed, and Hercules da Esti being sent by Borso, Duke of Ferrara, joined himself with them. Their first Enterprize was upon the Town of Doadola, which (the Florentines being in no order) they burned, and did some mischief in the Country about it. But the Florentines, as soon as Piero had banished the adverse Party, had entered into a new League with Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, and Ferrando, King of Naples; and entertained Federigo, Count of Urbin, for their General; so that being fortified by such Friends, they did not much value their Enemies. For Ferrando sent his Son Alfonso and Galeazzo came in Person (both of them with considerable Forces) to their Relief; and all of them together made a Head at Castracaro, a Castle belonging to the Florentines, at the bottom of the Alps which descend out of Tuscany into Romagna. In the meantime the Enemy was retired towards Imola; so that betwixt the one and the other, according to the Custom of those Times, there happened several light Skirmishes, but no besieging nor storming of Towns, nor no provocation to a Battle on either side, both Parties keeping their Tents and staring one upon another with extraordinary Cowardice. This manner of proceeding was not at all pleasing to the Florentines, who found themselves engaged in a War which was like to be expensive and no Profit to be expected: insomuch that the Magistrates complained of it to those Citizens which they had deputed as Commissaries for that Expedition; who replied that Galeazzo was wholly in the fault, and that, having more Authority than Experience, he knew not how to make any advantageous Resolution, nor would he believe them which were able to instruct him, and that therefore it was impossible, whilst he was in the Army, that any great Action should be achieved. Hereupon the Florentines addressed themselves to the Duke, and let him know:—

That he had done a great Honour (and it had been much for their Advantage) in coming personally to their Assistance, for his very Name and Reputation had made their Enemies retire. Nevertheless, they could not but prefer his Safety and the good of his State before their own; because whilst he was safe, they could not be capable of Fear; and

if lost, they should be incapable of Comfort. They could not therefore discharge themselves, nor express the Respect they had for him better, than by remembering him that (besides the Danger where he was) it could not be secure for him to be any longer at that distance from Milan; for being but young in the Government, and his Enemies powerful and industrious, who knew what Mischief they might meditate? and how easily execute it when they had done? So that they made it their request to him, for the safety of his own Person and the preservation of his State, that he would leave only part of his Forces with them, and return himself with the rest.

Galeazzo was as well pleased with their Counsel as they were to give it, and without more ado returned from whence he came. The Florentine Generals (being rid of this Incumbrance, and that it might appear to the World who was the Impediment before) advanced against the Enemy, so that they came presently to a Battle, which continued half a Day without any disadvantage; for there was not one Man killed, a few Horse hurt, and but a few Men taken Prisoners. When Winter was come, and the time that their Armies were accustomed to go into Quarters, Bartolomeo retreated towards Ravenna, the Florentines into Tuscany, and the Forces of the King and the Duke into their several Countries. But finding no Tumult nor Commotion in Florence, as they were promised by the Rebels, and the Soldiers which were hired not being punctually paid, the Venetians thought fit to treat, and in a short time a Peace was concluded. This Peace having deprived the Rebels of all hopes, they divided, and went to several Parts. Diotisalvi went to Ferrara, where he was entertained and relieved by the Marquess Borso; Nicolo Soderini removed to Ravenna, where he lived long with a small Pension from the Venetians, and at last died. This Nicolo was accounted a just and courageous Man, but slow and irresolute, which was the cause that he slipped an opportunity when he was Gonfaloniere that he could never afterwards retrieve. Grown insolent upon their success, those of the Florentines who were in Power (as if they fancied they had not prevailed unless their Cruelty did testify it) plagued and tormented not only their Enemies, but whoever else they thought good to suspect, and obtained of Bardo Altovili to divest several Citizens of their Honours, and that others should be banished; which was so great a strengthening to that Party,

and depression to the other, that they exercised the Power which they had usurped as if God and Fortune had given them that City for a Prey.

These Practices Piero understood not; and if he had, his Illness would not have permitted him to redress them, for he was so stiff and contracted with the Gout, he had the use of nothing but his Tongue, with which he could only admonish and advise them to live civilly and enjoy their Country in Peace, and not be accessary to its Destruction. To please and entertain the People, he resolved to celebrate the Marriage of his Son Lorenzo, to whom he had contracted Claricia, a Daughter of the House of Orsini; which Wedding was performed with a Pomp and Magnificence answerable to the Persons by whom and for whom it was made. Several days were spent in Balls, in Banquets, and Shows; and to demonstrate the Grandeur of the House of the Medici, two Martial Spectacles were exhibited, one representing Horse and Men charging as in a Field-Fight; the other, the Siege and Expugnation of a Town; both of them contrived and discharged with the greatest Glory and Gallantry imaginable. Whilst Affairs were in this posture in Florence all Italy was at Peace; but under great Apprehensions of the Turk, who, advancing in his Designs, had taken Negropont, to the great scandal and detriment of all Christendom. Borgo, Marquess of Ferrara, died about this time, and was succeeded by his Brother Hercules. Gismondo da Rimini died (a perpetual Enemy to the Church), and left the Dominion to his Son Roberto, who was reckoned afterwards among the best Commanders of that Age. Pope Paul died likewise, in whose place was created likewise Sextus, called first Francesco da Savona, a Person of mean or rather base Extraction, but for his Courage made General of the Order of S. Francis; and after that, Cardinal. This Pope was the first which shewed to the World what the Papacy could do, and that many things called Errors before might not only be excused, but hid and obtected by the Papal Authority. He had in his Family two Persons (Piero and Girolamo) who (as was generally believed) were his Natural Sons, though they passed under more specious and honourable Appellations. Piero being a Friar, was by degrees promoted to the Cardinalship, with the Title of San Sesio. To Girolamo he gave the Government of

Forli, which he had taken by violence from Antonio Ordelaffi, whose Predecessors had a long time been Princes of that City. This secular and ambitious way of proceeding procured his Holiness great Estimation among the Princes of Italy; insomuch as all of them desiring his Friendship, the Duke of Milan gave to Girolamo his Natural Daughter Catharine in Marriage; and in Dower with her he gave him the City of Imola, which by the like violence he had taken from Taddeo Alidossi. Betwixt this Duke and Ferrando, the King, a new Alliance was contracted; for Elizabeth, the Daughter of Alfonso (the King's eldest Son), was married to Giovan Galeazzo, eldest Son to the Duke. In the meantime Italy was full of Tranquillity; no Care incumbent upon those Princes but to pay their Respects one to the other, and by mutual Matches, new Obligations and Leagues, to fortifie and secure one another. / Yet, in the midst of this Peace, Florence was not without its Convulsions, the ambition and dissension of the Citizens distracting their Affairs; and Piero being interrupted by his own Distempers, could not apply any Remedy to theirs/ However, to discharge his Conscience, endeavour what he was able, and try whether he could shame them into a Reformation, he called them all to his House, and saluted them in this manner:—

I never imagined the time could come in which the Carriage of my Friends should have made me inclinable to my Enemies, or the consequences of my Victory have made me wish I had been beaten. I thought my Party had consisted of Men whose Appetites might have been bounded and circumscribed, and such as would have been satisfied to have lived quietly and honourably in their own Country, especially after their Enemies were expelled. But I find now I was mistaken, ignorant of the natural Ambition of the World, and more particularly yours. It is not enough, it seems, for you to be Chief and Principal in so illustrious a City, and (though but a few) to have the Honours, and Offices, and Emoluments, with which heretofore a much greater number was satisfied; it is not enough to have the Forfeitures and Confiscations of your Enemies divided among you; it is not enough that, exempting yourselves, you load and oppress the rest with Taxes, and appropriate them to your own private uses when they come in, but you must abuse and afflict your Neighbours with all the circumstances of Injury. You rob them of

their Estates; you sell them Justice; you abhor the Laws; you oppress the Peaceable, and exalt the Insolent. I did not think there had been such Examples of Rapine and Violence in all Italy as I find in this City. Has this City given us the Authority to subvert it? Has it given us the Preheminence to destroy it? Has it honoured us to afflict it? I do profess by the Faith of an honest Man, and declare here publickly to you all, that if you persist in these Courses, and force me to repent of my Victory, I will order things so that you shall have little comfort in abusing it.

The Citizens replied modestly at that time, but not a jot of Reformation; whereupon Piero sent privately to Agnolo Acciaivoli to meet him at Casaggiolo, where they had long discourse about the Condition of the City; and it is not doubted but if he had lived he would have recalled his Enemies to have restrained the Exorbitances of his Friends. But Death would not suffer it; for after great Conflicts both in his Body and Mind, in the fifty-third year of his Age, he died. His Virtue and his Bounty could not be perfectly conspicuous to his Country, being eclipsed by his Father, who died not long before him, and these few years he survived were wholly taken up either by his own Sickness or the dissension of his Friends. He was interred in the Temple of San Lorenzo, near his Father, and his Exequies performed with a Pomp proportionable to his Quality and Deserts. He left behind him two Sons, Lorenzo and Guiliano, pregnant and hopeful enough of themselves, but the tenderness of their Age was that which made everybody apprehensive. Among (or rather above) the principal of that Government was Tomaso Soderini, whose Prudence and Authority were not only eminent in Florence, but in the Courts of all the Princes of Italy. After the death of Piero, Tomaso had the respect of the whole City, most of the Citizens flocking to his House as their Chief, and many Princes directed their Correspondences to him. But he being wise, and sensible of his own Fortune and the Fortunes of his Family, refused their Correspondence, received none of their Letters, and let the Citizens know it was not upon him but the Medici they were obliged to attend; and that his Actions might quadrate with his Exhortations, having called all the chief Families together in the Convent of S. Antonio, he brought in Lorenzo and Guiliano de' Medici amongst them; where, after a long and solid Discourse

about the Condition of that City, Italy, and the several Principalities within it, he concluded that if ever they would live happily and in peace, secure against foreign Invasion and Dissension at home, it was necessary to continue their observance to the Family of the Medici, and to give those young Gentlemen the Authority of their Predecessors; for Men are not troubled at the promotion of Ancient Families, but Upstarts, as they are suddenly advanced, are suddenly forsaken; and it has been always found more easie to preserve a Family in power (where Time has worn out his Enemies) than to raise a new one which will unavoidably be subject to new Emulations. After Tomaso had spoke, Lorenzo began, and (though but young) delivered himself with so much gravity and composedness, that he gave them great hopes of his future Abilities; and before they parted both of them were perfectly adopted. Not long after, they were installed in the Dignities of their Father, entertained as Princes of the Government, and Tomaso appointed their chief Minister; by which means they lived quietly, for a while, both abroad and at home, without the least prospect or apprehension of Troubles; but on a sudden a new Tumult unexpectedly arose to disturb them and give them a hint of their following Miseries.

Among the Families which suffered with Luca Pitti and his Party was the Family of the Nardi. Salvestro and his Brothers (the chief of that House) were first banished, and then (upon the War with Bartolomeo Coglione) proclaimed Rebels. Among the Brothers there was one of them called Bernardo, a brisk and courageous Youth, who (not being able to subsist abroad by reason of his Poverty, and having no hopes of returning by reason of the Peace) resolved to attempt something that might be an occasion of reviving the War: a slight and inconsiderable beginning, producing great Effects many times, because People are generally more prone to assist and improve a Commotion than to contrive and begin it. Bernardo had good acquaintance in Prato, and in the Country about Pistoia, but more especially with the Palandre, which (though a Country Family) were numerous, and brought up, like the rest of the Pistolesi, in Arms and in Blood. He knew they were highly discontented, as having been ill-used in the time of the Wars by the Magistrates in Florence; he knew likewise the disgusts of the Pratisi, the pride and rapacity of their

Government, and somebody had told him how ready they were for any practice against the State; so that from all these Circumstances he conceived hopes, by debauching of Prato, of kindling such a Fire in Tuscany as, by supplying it with Fewel, they should not be able to extinguish. He communicated his design with Diotisalvi, and inquired of him, in case Prato should be surprized, what assistance he could procure him from the Princes of Italy. Diotisalvi looked upon the Business as desperate and almost impossible; however, seeing the part he was to bear in it was secure enough, and that the Experiment was to be made at another Man's cost, he encouraged him to go on, and promised him assistance from Bologna and Ferrara, if he could but secure the Town for a Fortnight. Bernardo, tickled with his Promises, and persuading himself his Success would be good, conveyed himself privately to Prato, and imparting his designs to some Persons, he found them readily disposed. The same compliance and alacrity he found in the Palandre; and having agreed with them both of the Time and the Place, he sent the News immediately to Diotisalvi. The Potesta or Governor of Prato at that time was Cesare Pretucci, who being put in by them, preserved it for the Florentines. The Governours of such Towns had a custom to keep the Keys of the Castle themselves; yet (especially where there was no Jealousy) if any of the Town desired to go in or out in the Night, they were so civil as to suffer them. Bernardo, understanding the Custom, came himself, and the Palandre with about a hundred armed Men, and lay close near the Gate which goes towards Pistoia, whilst those in the Town who were privy to the Conspiracy armed likewise, and sent one of their number to the Governor to beg the favour of the Keys, pretending there was a Citizen which desired to enter. The Governor suspecting nothing, sent one of the Servants with the Keys, who being gone a convenient distance from the Palace, was knocked down, his Charge taken from him, and the Gate being opened, Bernardo and his Party were let it. Having entered, and discoursed a little while with their Friends in the Town, they divided into two Bodies; one of them under the conduct of Salvestro, a Pratese, surprized the Castle; the other commanded by Bernardo, possessed themselves of the Palace, took the Governour and his whole Family Prisoners, and committed them to the custody of

some of his Men; which done, they set up a great cry for Liberty in the Streets, and upon it many of the People resorted to the Market-place. It being now day, and the Magistrates informed that the Castle and Palace were surprized, and the Governour and all his Family in Prison, they could not imagine from whence this Accident should proceed. The Eight who in that City were supream met together in the Palace to consult what was to be done. But Bernardo and his Accomplices, having run some time about the Streets, and found few or nobody come in, upon Information that the Eight were assembled, they went directly to them; and Bernardo took occasion to let them know that their design was only to deliver their Town from Servitude, and that if they would take Arms and join with them in it, they would create immortal Honour to themselves and perpetual Peace to the People; then he remembered them of their ancient Liberty, and compared it with their present Condition, and promised them such Assistance in a few days as the Florentines should not be able to contend withal. Besides, he assured them he had Intelligence in Florence, and they would show themselves as soon as they understood their Success in this Town. But the Eight were not to be moved with bare Words, and answered, that they knew not whether Florence was in Liberty or Bondage, nor did it belong to them to inquire; this they knew, that for their parts they desired no further Liberty than to continue under the same Magistrates which had then the Government of Florence, from whose hands they had never received any Injury that might provoke them to take Arms against them. They admonished him therefore to release the Governour, leave the Town as he found it, and withdraw in time from an Enterprize which he had rashly begun. But Bernardo was not to be discouraged so easily; for seeing Intreaties and fair Means had no better Success, he resolved to try how far terror would work, and as a taste of what was to be expected, concluded to put the Governour to Death. Having caused him to be haled out of Prison, he gave orders he should be hanged out of one of the Windows in the Palace. Petrucci was brought almost to the Window with a Rope about his Neck, when he spied Bernardo attending to see him Executed, and turning to him, he said:—

Bernardo, you think by cutting me off to make the Pratesi follow

you, but the Effect will be quite contrary. The Veneration they bear to the Governors which are sent hither from Florence is so great, it will incense them to see me destroyed, and your Cruelty to me will turn to your Ruin; so that 'tis my Life, not my Death, must do your Business. If I command them what you think fit to direct, they will obey me before you, and I following your Direction, your Design will be fulfilled.

Bernardo, who was no Conjurer, thought his Counsel was good, and therefore ordered him (out of a back Window which looked into the Market-place) to require the Obedience of the People, which as soon as he had done, he was carried back from whence he came. The weakness of the Conspirators was by this time discovered, and several of the Inhabitants were got together, and Giorgio Ginori, a Knight of Rhodes, among the rest. This Giorgio being the first who took Arms, advanced against Bernardo, who was riding up and down the Streets, sometimes persuading and sometimes threatening the City. Having found him, and charged him with a considerable number that followed, Bernardo was wounded and taken Prisoner, after which it was not hard to release the Governour and overpower the rest; for being but few and divided into several Parties, they were most of them either taken or killed.

In the meantime the News of this Accident arrived at Florence, and was represented much greater than the Truth. The first Report was, that Prato was surprized, the Governor and his whole Family slain, the Town full of the Enemy's Forces, Pistoia in Arms, and several Citizens of that City engaged in the Plot; so that of a sudden the Palace was full of Citizens expecting Orders from the Senate for what was to be done. There was in Florence at that time an eminent Captain called Roberto San Severino; it was resolved to send what Forces they could get together of a sudden, under his Command, towards Prato, that he should advance as near it as he could, give them particular notice of all Passages, and act as he in his discretion should see occasion. Roberto was presently dispatched, and marched with his Party as far as the Castello di Campi, when he was met by a Messenger from Petrucci with the News that Bernardo was taken, his Party defeated, and all things in quiet; so that he marched back again to Florence, and not long after Bernardo was brought thither to be

examined by the Magistrates. Being questioned upon several things, and particularly what induced him to that Enterprize, he replied, that choosing rather to die in Florence than to live any longer in Exile, he determined to do something which might make him memorable when he was dead. This Tumult being composed almost as soon as begun, the Citizens began to return to their old way of Security, thinking (without any regard or consideration) to enjoy the Profits of a Government which they had so lately re-established and confirmed, from whence all those Inconveniences ensued which are too often the Followers of Peace. The Youth being more vain and extravagant than formerly, squandered away vast Sums in Cloaths, and Treats, and all manner of Luxury, and having nothing to do, spent their whole time and Estates among Dancing-Masters and Women: their whole study and ambition was to be thought glorious in their Habit and smart and poignant in their Discourse; for he that could retort or bite the most readily was thought the greatest Wit and had the greatest applause. And yet these Effeminacies were much increased by the arrival of the Duke of Milan, who with his Lady and the whole Court was come to Florence (to fulfil a pretended Vow), where he was entertained with Magnificence suitably to his Quality and the Alliance betwixt them. Then was the first time it ever was seen in that City that in Lent, when all Flesh was forbidden by the Church, it was eaten publickly, without Dispensation or respect to the Laws of God or of Men. Among the rest of the Shows which were made to entertain him, the Holy Ghost's descending upon the Apostles being represented and exposed in the Church di S. Spirito, so many Candles were used in the Solemnity that some of them took fire and burnt the Church to the ground, which was looked upon as a Judgment and a manifest Expression of God's Anger towards us. If then the Duke found the City of Florence full of niceness and delicacy, and exorbitance in their Manners, he left them much worse when he went away; so that the soberer sort of the Citizens thought it necessary for sumptuary Laws and Edicts of Restraint for the regulation of Expences in Cloaths, Funerals, and Feastings, to confine them within the compass of Frugality and Discretion.

In the midst of this Peace there happened a new and unexpected Tumult in Tuscany, about this Town of Volterra. It was

the fortune of some of those Citizens to find a Mine of Allom; who knowing the usefulness of it, and the advantage which might accrue, that they might be the better supplied with Monies and justified by better Authority, they applied themselves to some of the considerable Citizens of Florence, and made them Sharers in the Profits. The business at first (as all things of that nature are) was little regarded by the Volterrans; but after, when they grew sensible of their Gains, they strove too late to do what at first might have been easily prevented. They began to examine and argue it in the Councils, alledging there was no reason a Commodity found in the publick Lands should be converted to particular use. Hereupon Ambassadors were sent to Florence, and the cause referred to a Committee of Citizens, who, being either bribed or convinced, reported that the desires of the People of Volterra were (in their judgment) unjust; that they could not find any reason why the Defendants should be deprived of what by their own Labour and Industry they had acquired; and that therefore the Mine was in all equity to be continued to them; though if they pleased they might command them to pay an annual Sum of Money as a Fee and Acknowledgment of their Superiority. This being reported, it rather increased than lessened the Mutiny of the Volterrans; nothing was discoursed of in the whole City but this Affair. The People pressed hard for what they thought themselves robbed of. The Partizans were as zealous to keep what they had got, and upon reference to the Florentines it was confirmed to them; so that in a dispute there was one eminent Citizen called Picorino slain, and after him several more of his Party, and their Houses plundered and burned. In the heat of their Rage they had much ado to forbear the same Violence to the Florentine Magistrates. The fierceness of their Fury being over, they sent Ambassadors to Florence to represent to that Senate that if they would preserve to them their old Privileges, they would continue their subjection and maintain the City in its ancient dependence. But there was great Argument about the answer. Tomaso Soderini was of opinion the Volterrans were to be received upon any Terms, as thinking it dangerous at that time to kindle a fire so near their own Houses; for he was fearful of the disaffection of the Pope and the Power of the King; nor durst he depend upon the Amity either of the Duke

or the Venetian, as not being certain of the Courage of the one or the Fidelity of the other; harping still upon an old Adage, *that a lean Peace was better than a fat Victory.* Lorenzo, on the other side, thinking this a fair opportunity to demonstrate his Wisdom and his Magnanimity together, and the rather because encouraged by such as envied Tomaso, he declared against the Tumult, resolved to punish them by force, and affirmed that if these were not corrected *in terrorem*, upon the least trivial and impertinent Occasion the rest of the Territories would do the same, without any fear or reverence in the World. The result of all being that they should be corrected, answer was returned to the Ambassadors that the Volterrans were not to expect the continuation of their Privileges, having broken them themselves, and that therefore they were either to submit to the Senate without any Capitulation, or to expect the Consequences of War. The Volterran Ambassador being returned with this Answer, they prepared for their Defence, fortified their Town, and sent for Supplies to all the Princes of Italy; but none of them gave them any encouragement but the Siennesi and the Governour of Piombino.

The Florentine, on the other side, placing much of their Success in their speed, dispatched away 10,000 Foot and 2000 Horse, under the command of Federigo, Lord of Urbino, who falling upon the Country of Volterra, did easily subdue it; after which he sat down before the City, but that standing high, and the Hill being steep, it was not to be assaulted but on that side where the Church of S. Alessandro stood. The Volterrans for their better defence had hired about 1000 Soldiers, who observing the Florentines' resolution to carry it, and that they were very strong in their Leaguer, believing it untenable, they began to be remiss and careless in their Duties; but in anything of mischief to their Masters they were vigorous enough. So that the poor Citizens being assaulted without and abused within, began to incline to a Peace; but not being admitted to Conditions, they were glad to throw themselves into the Arms of their Enemies, who having caused them to open the Gates, the greatest part of the Army marched in, and advancing to the Palace where the Priori were assembled, they commanded them to return to their Houses. But by the way one of them was unluckily pillaged and reviled by a Soldier, and from that Action (the disposition of Mankind prompting him more naturally to

Mischief than Good) proceeded the destruction of that City, which for a whole day together was robbed and rummaged by the Soldiers; neither Women, nor Children, nor Churches, nor any place being exempt from the Rapacity as well of their Mercenaries as Enemies. The News of this Victory was entertained in Florence with extraordinary Joy, and being Lorenzo's own Enterprize, it turned highly to his Reputation; and one of his most intimate Friends upbraided Tomaso Soderini by his Counsel to the contrary. What think you now, Sir (said he to him), Volterra is won? To whom Tomaso replied, I think it rather lost; for had you received it upon Terms, it might have been serviceable, and contributed to the security of this City; but being so to be kept by force, it will be a trouble and weakness to you in time of War, and an expence and inconvenience in time of Peace.

In those Days the Pope, being desirous to keep the Lands of the Church in their natural Obedience, had caused Spoliro to be sacked, which Town, by Instigation of the Factions within it, had been in Rebellion; and the City of Castello having been in the same Contumacy, was afterwards besieged. In that Town Nicoli Vitelli was Prince, who retaining a great Correspondence and Friendship with Lorenzo di Medici, had Supplies sent him from Florence; though not enough to defend Nicolo, yet sufficient to sow the Seeds of such Enmity betwixt the Pope and the Medici as produced most pernicious Effects. Nor had it been long before they had discovered themselves, had not the Death of Piero, Cardinal di S. Sisto, intervened. For that Cardinal (having travelled through all Italy, and spent some time both at Venice and Milan, in honour, as he pretended, to the Marquess of Ferrara's Wedding) had sifted the Princes to see how they stood inclined to a Difference with the Florentines; but being returned to Rome, he died, not without suspicion of being poisoned by the Venetians, out of an apprehension of his Power, whenever he should have opportunity to exert it; for though his Humour and Extraction were mean, and his Education acquired in a Convent, yet upon his promotion to the Cardinalship he discovered more Pride and Ambition than was becoming not only a Cardinal, but a Pope; for he had the vanity to make a Feast at Rome which cost him above 20,000 Florins, and would have been thought an Extravagance in the greatest King of his time. Pope Sixtus having lost

his Minister, proceeded more coolly in his Designs; nevertheless the Florentines, the Duke, and the Venetians entered into a League. Sixtus and the King of Naples entered into another, and left room for several other Princes to come in if they pleased. By this means all Italy was divided into two Factions, every Day producing something or other which augmented the Feuds; and particularly a dispute about the Isle of Cyprus, to which Ferrando pretended, but the Venetian had got the possession; upon which the Pope and Ferrando confederated more strictly. The great Captain of those Times, and the most Eminent for Conduct, was Federigo, Prince of Urbin, who had served under the Florentine a long time. That their League might not have the advantage of such a General, the Pope and Ferrando resolved, if possible, to debauch him from them, and to that end both of them invited him to Naples. Federigo obeyed, with great astonishment and displeasure to the Florentines, concluding he would run the same fate which Giacopo Piccinino had done before him; but they were utterly mistaken, for Federigo returned with great Honour from Naples and Rome, and was made General of their League. In the meantime the Pope and the King were not idle, but still feeling and tempting the Senates of Romagna and Sienna to make them their Friends, and enable themselves thereby to be revenged on the Florentines; of which the Florentines having advertisement, they provided such remedy against their Ambition as would consist with their Time; and having lost Federigo, they entertained Roberto da Pimino into their Pay, they renewed their Leagues with the Citizens of Perugia and the Senate of Faenza.

The Pope and the King pretended that the ground of their Dissatisfaction was, for that they had seduced the Venetians from their League, and associated with them themselves; and the Pope did not think that he could preserve the Honour and Reputation of the Church, nor Count Girolamo his Sovereignty in Romagna, whilst the Venetian and Florentine were united. The Florentines, on the other side, feared that they did not desire to separate them from the Venetians so much to make them their Friends as to enable themselves more easily to injure them; so that for two Years together Italy remained under these Jealousies and diversities of Humours before any tumult broke out. The first which happened (and that was no great one) was in Tuscany.

Braccio of Perugia (a Person, as we have said before, of great reputation in the Wars) left two Sons, Oddo and Carlo. Whilst the last was very young, his Brother was slain unhappily in a Tumult in the Val di Lamona; and Carlo (when capable for his Age) was preferred by the Venetians to a Command in their Army, out of respect to the memory of the Father and the hopefulness of the Son. The time of his Commission expired about that time, and Carlo would not suffer it to be renewed by the Senate, being resolved to see whether his own Reputation or his Father's could bring him back again to Perugia. To which the Venetians readily consented, as People which added something to their Empire by every Commotion. Carlo therefore marched into Tuscany, but finding the Perugians in League with the Florentines, and his Enterprize by consequence more uneasie than he expected, that nevertheless he might do something worthy to be talked of, he assaulted the Siennesi (pretending an old Debenture to his Father for Service he had done them), and fell upon them with such fury that their whole Country was overrun. The Siennesi seeing themselves so fiercely invaded (and being naturally jealous of the Florentines) persuaded themselves it was done by their consent, and made their Complaints to the Pope and the King. They sent Ambassadors likewise to Florence, who complained of the Injuries they had received, and remonstrated that without their privacy and connivance Carlo could never have assaulted them so securely. The Florentines excused themselves, assuring them they would employ their greatest Interest that Carlo should not injure them any farther, and that in what way soever their Ambassadors should propose, they would require him to desist: of which Proceedings Carlo complained as much on the other side, declaring that, for not having supplied him, the Florentines had robbed themselves of a considerable Acquest, and him of great Honour and Reputation; for he promised them the possession of that City in a short time; so much Cowardice he had observed in the People, and so much disorder in their Defence. Whereupon Carlo drew off, and retired to his old Masters the Venetians; and the Siennesi (though delivered by the Florentines' means) remained full of disgust, as not thinking it an Obligation to rescue them from a Calamity they had brought upon their heads. Whilst the Affairs in Tuscany were carried

on in this manner by the Pope and the King, there fell out an Accident in Lombardy of greater importance, and threatened greater destruction. There was a Person called Cola (of Mantoua), who taught the Latin tongue to several young Gentlemen in Milan. This Cola, being a learned but ambitious Man, out of pique to the Duke's Conversation, or some private Exceptions of his own, took occasion in all his Discourse, wherever he came, to declaim against subjection to an ill Prince, and to magnify their Felicity whose Fortune it was to be born and brought up in a Commonwealth, affirming that all famous Men had their Education, not under Princes, but Republicks; the latter preferring them as virtuous, the other destroying them as dangerous. The Gentlemen with whom he had entered into more particular Familiarity were Giovanandrea Lampognano, Carlo Visconti, and Girolamo Olgiatto, and to these he had many times inculcated the excellence of the one Government and the perniciousness of the other, and by degrees he became so confident both of their Courage and Inclination, that he persuaded them to a solemn Oath, that as soon as their Age would give them leave, they should employ all their Faculties to redeem their Country from the Tyranny of their Prince.

The young Gentlemen, full of his Documents and a desire of observing their Oaths, detesting the Courses of the Duke and resenting some particular Injuries of their own, were impatient to put his Directions in execution. Galeazzo was in his Carriage both cruel and lascivious (each of which good Qualities was sufficient to make him odious); it was not enough for him to debauch and vitiate the noblest Ladies of the City, but he took delight to publish it; no Man, in his Judgment, was handsomely punished who was not executed with some unusual Circumstance of Cruelty. He was suspected likewise to have murdered his Mother; for, not fancying himself Prince enough whilst she was in the way, he behaved himself so towards her that she desired to retire to Cremona (which was the place of her Dower), in which Journey she was surprized by a sudden Fit of Sickness and died, and her Death by many People imputed to her Son. By tampering with or reflecting upon some Ladies of their Relations, Galeazzo had highly disobliged both Carlo and Girolamo; and to Giovanandrea he had refused to give the possession of the

Abbey of Miramando, which was granted to his Predecessors by the Pope. These private Injuries egged on the young Gentlemen to revenge themselves and deliver their Country; presuming, if they could kill him, not only the Nobility, but the whole body of the People would follow them. Resolved therefore upon the Fact, they met many times to consult of the way, and their old Familiarity rendered them unsuspected. Whilst they were contriving their Business, to make themselves more dexterous and courageous when they came to it, their way was to strike and stab one another with the Sheaths of those Daggers which they had prepared to do the work, sometimes upon the Arms and sometimes upon the Breasts of one another. At length they came to consider of the time and the place: in the Castle it was thought unsafe; a hunting, dangerous and uncertain; a walking, difficult and unpracticable; in the Conventions, impossible. At length it was concluded he should be Assassinated at some Show or publick Festivity, to which he would certainly come; at which time, upon sundry Pretences, they might have opportunity to assemble their Friends. They concluded likewise, that if any of them, upon any occasion whatever, should be absent or apprehended, the rest should proceed and kill him upon the Place.

In the Year 1476, Christmas coming on, and the Duke accustomed on S. Stephen's Day with great Solemnity to visit the Church of that Martyr, they pitched upon that for the Time and the Place. The Morning arriving, they caused some of their principal Friends and Servants to arm, pretending they were to assist Giovanandrea, who, contrary to the Inclinations of some of his Enemies, was to bring certain Pipes of Water into his Grounds for his greater Convenience. Being armed according to Directions, they conducted them to the Church, alledging that they would get leave of the Prince to justify what might happen: they caused several others likewise of their Friends and Allies to meet there upon several Pretences, presuming when the stroke was struck and the business done to their hand they would fall in then without any difficulty or scruple. Their Resolution was, as soon as the Duke was killed, to get all those armed Men at their heels and to march into that part of the Town where they thought they would raise the People with most ease, and persuade them to arm against the Duchess; and the Ministers of the State not

doubting but the People would readily follow them, being much distressed for want of Provisions, and promised (as they intended) the Houses of Cecco Simonetta, Giovanni Botti, Francesco Lucani, and all the rest of the Governors to plunder. Having laid their design thus, and encouraged one another to execute it bravely, Giovanandrea, with his Accomplices, went to Church betimes and heard Mass together; after which Giovanandrea turning towards the Image of S. Ambrogio, he said, *Most venerable Patron of our City, thou knowest our Intention, and for what end we expose ourselves to so many dangers; be, I beseech you, kind and propitious to our Enterprize, and by favouring of Justice, let the World see how much Injustice displeases you.* To the Duke, on the other side, before he came to Church, many things happened which seemed to presage his Death. When he dressed himself that Morning he put on a Coat-of-Mail which he usually wore, but on a sudden thinking it unhandsome or troublesome, he caused it to be pulled off and laid by. He had a mind to hear Mass in his own Chapel, but his Chaplain was gone to S. Stephen's Church, and carried all the Implements along with him. Having News of that, he ordered the Bishop of Como should officiate for him, but he excused himself upon very reasonable Impediments, so that he was necessitated, as it were, to go to Church. Before he went, he caused Giovan Galeazzo and Hermes, his Sons, to be brought to him; and when they came, he kissed and embraced them as if he was never to see them again. At length (and very loth) being parted from them, he resolved to go to Church, and marching out of the Castle betwixt the Ambassadors of Ferrara and Mantoua, he went towards S. Stephen's. The Conspirators in the meantime, to give the less Suspicion and avoid the Cold, which at that time was very great, were got up into a Chamber belonging to the Arch-Priest, who was of their Acquaintance; but hearing the Duke was coming, they went down and placed themselves in the Porch, Giovanandrea and Girolamo on the Right-hand, and Charles on the Left. Those who marched before the Duke were already entered; then came the Duke himself, encompassed with a great multitude of People, as is usual in such pompous Solemnities. The first which addressed themselves to their Work was Giovanandrea and Girolamo, who, pretending to make room, pressed up to the Duke, and with short

Daggers which they had ready drawn in their Sleeves they stabbed him. Giovanandrea gave him two Wounds, one in the Belly, the other in the Throat; Girolamo struck him in the Throat likewise, and in the Belly. Carlo Visconti being placed nearer the Door, the Duke was past him before he was assaulted, and therefore he could not strike him before he was dead; however, he must do his share, and with a Schine gave him two deep Wounds upon his Shoulders. His Blows were so sudden and thick he was cut down and dead before almost anybody perceived it. Nor had he time to do or say more than to call upon the Name of our Lady (and that but once) as he fell. The Duke being slain, great Hubbub was raised, many Swords drawn, and (as it happens frequently in such Cases) many People ran in great confusion about the Streets, without any certain knowledge of what had passed. However, those who were about the Duke, had seen him killed, and knew who they were that did it, pressed hard upon them to revenge it.

Giovanandrea being willing to have disengaged himself, got out of the Church, thrust himself among the Women who were there in great numbers upon their Knees; but being entangled and stopped by their Coats, a Moor (who was one of the Duke's Footmen) got up to him and killed him. Carlo was slain also by those who were by; but Girolamo Olgiato got out of the Church among the Crowd; for seeing his Companions dead, and not knowing whither to betake himself, he went to his own House, but was refused by his Father and his Brothers. His Mother having more Commiseration, recommended him to a Priest who had been an ancient Friend of that Family, which Priest changed Habits with him and conveyed him to his House, where he remained two Days in hopes some Tumult or other would fall out and he might have opportunity to save himself. But finding he was mistaken in that, and fearing to be found out where he was, he disguised himself and endeavoured to get off; but was discovered, secured, and delivered up to the Magistrate, to whom he confessed the whole process of the conspiracy. This Girolamo was about twenty-three Years old, no less courageous and resolute at his Death than at the perpetration of the Fact. Being stripped, and the Executioner with his Knife in hand ready to give the stroke, he spake these Words in Latin, *Mors acerba, fama perpetua stabit*

vetus memoria facti. This Plot was carried on with strange Secrecy and executed with prodigious Courage by these unhappy young Gentlemen; but being neither followed nor defended by those whom they expected, they miscarried, and were slain. Let Princes by this Example live so as to make themselves honoured and beloved, that nobody may hope to kill them and escape; and let other People have care of relying upon the Multitude too far, how discontented soever, for in their distress they will be sure to forsake them. This Accident put all Italy into an Amaze, but much more what happened in Florence not long after, for that brake the Peace of all Italy, which had continued for twelve Years, as shall be shown in the next Book, whose End will be no less sad and deplorable than the Beginning is bloody and terrible.

BOOK VIII.

THE beginning of this Eighth Book falling betwixt two Conspiracies—the one executed at Milan, and already described; the other at Florence, and remaining to be related—it would have been convenient, according to my Custom, to have said something of the quality and importance of conspiracies; and I should willingly have undertaken it had it not been done in another place, and the Subject too copious to be passed over with brevity. Waiving therefore a Matter which would require so much consideration, and is elsewhere amply discoursed, I shall tell how the Family of the Medici, having subdued the Adversaries which openly opposed them, to make themselves absolute in the City, and reduce the rest to a civil Submission, were necessitated to disable those who were privately their Enemies. For whilst the Medici were but equal in Authority, and as it were but in Competition with other great Families, the Citizens which emulated their Greatness might oppose them publickly without danger, because the Magistrates being free and independent, neither Party was afraid till one of them was suppressed. But after the Victory in '66, the Government devolving wholly upon the Medici, they exercised it with so much vigour that those who were discontented were forced to comport themselves patiently under it, or by private and clandestine Machinations to endeavour to remove it; which seldom and with great difficulty succeeding, they most commonly ruined the Conspirators and augmented their Grandeur against whom they were contrived. So that a Prince, according to that method, to be deposed, if he be not killed dead (as the Duke of Milan), which happens but rarely, he breaks forth into greater Authority, and how good soever before, becomes bad and tyrannical. For the Practices of those Men give him occasion to fear; Fear to secure himself, Security to be insolent; and from thence spring such Aversions and Hatred as are commonly his

ruin; so that, in conclusion, Treason does usually destroy the Contrivers and ruin them in time against whom they conspired.

Italy (as we said before) was divided into two Factions: the Pope and the King of Naples made one; the Venetians, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines made the other; and though betwixt them War was not solemnly declared, yet daily Provocations were given on both sides, and the Pope very busy in his designs against Florence. Filippo de' Medici, the Archbishop of Pisa, being dead, in crossness to that Family, his Holiness invested Francesco Salviati in that Bishoprick, as knowing him to be their Enemy; and the Senate of Florence refusing him possession, new Quarrels arose which created much trouble. Hereupon the Family of the Pazzi was encouraged at Rome, and the Family of the Medici affronted in everything. The Family of the Pazzi, for Quality and Estate, was the most illustrious in Florence. The chief of them was Messer Giacopo, who for his Wealth and Nobility was made a Knight by the People. This Giacopo had only one natural Daughter living, but several Nephews by Piero and Antonio, his Brothers; the chief of them were Guilielmo, Francesco, Rinato, Giovanni, and (after them) Andrea, Galeotto, and Nicolo. Cosimo de' Medici, observing the Grandeur of that Family, had married Bianca, his Niece, to the eldest, Guilielmo, in hopes by that Alliance to remove the Jealousy and Animosity which was then betwixt the Families. But (so uncertain and fallacious are all human Designs) it proved quite contrary; for those who were of Lorenzo's Cabal persuaded him it was dangerous, and a diminution to his Authority, to advance such Citizens as were wealthy and potent; whereupon Giacopo and his Nephews were not preferred to those Dignities which, in the opinion of other People, they deserved. This gave occasion of disgust to the Pazzi and apprehension to the Medici, and the increase of the one gave Matter for the augmentation of the other; so that in all things where other Citizens were entertained, the Pazzi were rejected by the Magistrates. The Council of Eight (upon a trivial occasion, without respect and deference usually shown to Persons of his Quality) recalled Francesco dei Pazzi from Rome, and required his residence in Florence. Hereupon the Pazzi complained highly of the Government, and spake bitterly of them wherever they came, which

produced more Suspicion in the Government and more Injury to themselves. Giovanni dei Pazzi was married to the Daughter of Giovanni Boromei, a very rich Man, who being dead without other Children, his Estate descended to his Daughter. Notwithstanding, Carlo, his Nephew, got possession of part, and refused to surrender. The Controversy coming to a hearing, it was decreed that Carlo should keep his possession, and the Daughter was defeated; which Injustice the Pazzi imputed wholly to the Malevolence of the Medici, of which Giuliano complained many times to his Brother Lorenzo, admonishing him to have a care lest, grasping at too much, he robbed himself of all. But Lorenzo being young, and elated with his Power, would have a hand in everything, and all must be acknowledged from him. The Pazzi being too noble and opulent to swallow so many Affronts, began to cast about how they might revenge themselves. The first who brake the Ice was Francesco, who being more sensible and courageous than the rest, determined to recover what was his Right or to lose what he had.

Retaining an implacable hatred to the Government at Florence, he lived most commonly at Rome, where he employed great Sums of Money, as other Florentine Merchants did usually do. Having an intimate acquaintance with Count Girolamo, they complained to one another oftentimes of the Inhumanity of the Medici. At length they came to a solemn Debate, and it was concluded that for the one's recovery of his Estate, and the other's living freely in that City, it was necessary the present Government in Florence should be subverted, which could not be done but by killing Giuliano and Lorenzo. They were confident (having first convinced them of the easiness of the Fact) the Pope and the King of Naples would give their consents. Having entertained these Thoughts betwixt themselves, they thought fit to communicate with the new Archbishop of Pisa, who being naturally ambitious and lately disobliged, most readily embraced it. Consulting themselves what measures were to be taken, it was resolved that Giacopo dei Pazzi should be drawn in, without whose concurrence the design was like to be more difficult. To this purpose it was concluded that Francesco dei Pazzi should repair immediately to Florence, and the Count and Archbishop continue at Rome, to be near the Pope when things should be

fit to be imparted. Francesco finding Giacopo more formal and untractable than he desired, and signifying it to Rome, it was resolved to apply greater Authority to dispose him; whereupon the Archbishop and the Count communicated the whole Affair with Giovanni Battista, one of his Holiness's Generals.

This Giovanni was a Man of great Reputation in War, and particularly obliged both by the Count and the Pope. Nevertheless he objected the great danger and difficulties of the Enterprize, which the Archbishop endeavoured to repel, by urging the Assistance they were to expect both from the Pope and the King of Naples; the hatred the Citizens of Florence bare to the Medici; the number of Relations and Friends which would follow the Salviati and the Piazzi; the easiness to kill them, by reason of their frequent walking alone about the City without either Guards or Suspicion; and (after they were dead) the small or no opposition to be expected in the change of the Government: which Allegations Giovanni Battista could not absolutely believe, because he had been assured the contrary by several considerable Citizens. Whilst these things were in this suspence, it happened that Carlo, Lord of Faenza, fell sick, and was given over for dead. Hereupon the Count and Archbishop conceived they had a fair opportunity to dispatch Battista to Florence, and thence into Romagna, under pretence of recovering certain Towns which Carlo of Faenza had taken from them. The Count therefore commissioned Battista to wait upon Lorenzo, and in his Name to desire his Advice how he was to behave himself in Romagna; after which he was to visit Francesco dei Pazzi and Giacopo dei Pazzi, and see if he could engage them in the design; and that he might carry the Pope's Authority along with him, they appointed him, before he departed, to receive his Holiness's Commands, who promised what could be imagined for the promotion of the Enterprize. Battista departing speedily from Rome, arrived at Florence, consulted Lorenzo according to his Instructions, was very civilly received, and so wisely and amicably answered in all his demands, that Battista was surprized, and began to look upon him as a courteous, discreet Friend to the Count, and one that had been maliciously misrepresented. However, he was to pursue his Orders and visit Francesco. He being at Lucca, he went directly to Giacopo, and upon the first motion

found him very averse. But before he went away the Pope's Recommendation sweetened him so, that he told Battista he might proceed in his Journey to Romagna, and by that time he came back Francesco would be in Florence, and they would talk farther of the business. Battista went to Romagna, and returned, pursued his pretended Transactions with Lorenzo; when he had done with him, went to the Pazzi, and ordered things so, that Giacopo was drawn in upon serious Consultation of the way. Giacopo was of opinion their design was impossible whilst both the Brothers were together in Florence; that they had better attend till Lorenzo went to Rome, which by report would be certain and in a very short time. Francesco was willing enough to have had Lorenzo at Rome; but if the worst came to the worst, and he did not go thither, they might be sure to kill them both together at some Wedding, some Show, or some Act of Devotion. As to their foreign Assistance, it was thought convenient that the Pope should send his Forces against Castello de Montone, having just occasion of invading the Count Carlo, for the Troubles and Tumults he had raised in the Country of Perugia and Sienna. Notwithstanding, they came to no positive Resolution at that time; only they agreed that Francesco dei Pazzi and Giovanni Battista should return to Rome, and there determine all things with his Holiness and the Count. The whole matter being redebated solemnly at Rome, they came to this conclusion (the Enterprize against Montone being confirmed), that Giovan Francesco da Tolentino (an Officer of the Pope's) should go into Romagna, and Lorenzo da Castello into his Country, each of them get together what Forces they were able, and keep them ready to be disposed of as the Archbishop Salviati and Francesco dei Pazzi should order; who being come to Florence with Giovanni Battista, they prepared all that was necessary, and King Ferrando's Ambassador assured them of his Master's utmost assistance. The Archbishop and Francesco being arrived at Florence, they persuaded into their Party Giacopo, the Son of Poggio, a learned Youth, but ambitious and studious of new things. That drew in likewise two Giacopo Salviatis, one of them a Brother, the other a Kinsman of the Archbishop's. They hired Bernardo Bandini and Napoleone, two valiant young French Gentlemen, who had been much obliged to the Family of the Pazzi. Of

Foreigners, besides them two, they entertained Antonio da Volterra and one Stephano, a Priest, who taught the Latin Tongue to Giacopo's Daughter and lived in his House.

Rinato dei Pazzi (a wise and student Man, and one who very well understood the consequences of such Plots) consented not to it, but rather detested it, and by all plausible ways endeavoured to dissuade it. The Pope had maintained at Pisa to study the Canon-Law Rafaelo di Riario, Nephew to the Count Girolamo, from which place he was recalled by his Holiness and promoted to a Cardinalship. It was judged commodious by the Conspiracy that this Cardinal should come to Florence for the better concealment of their Design, seeing that in his Equipage all such of their Confederates as were necessary might be conveyed into the Town, which would much facilitate the Work. Accordingly the Cardinal arrived, and was lodged by Giacopo dei Pazzi at a Country-house of his at Montughi, not far from Florence. They desired by his means that Lorenzo and Giuliano might be brought together, and it was resolved that the first opportunity they should be killed. It was contrived then to make an Entertainment for the Cardinal at Fiesole, but by accident, or on purpose, it fell out that Guiliano was not there; so that that Design being defeated, their next was to invite the Cardinal to Florence, and thither they made no question but both the Brothers would come. The 26th of April 1478 was appointed to be the Day. The Night before they met all together, and prepared and disposed all things for execution the next Morning; but the Day being come, News was brought to Francesco that Giuliano was not there. Upon that the Chief of them met together again, and concluded the Business was no longer to be delayed, for being communicated to so many, it was not possible to conceal it; so that they determined without more ado to assassinate him in the Church of Santa Riparata, when (the Cardinal being present) both the Brothers they presumed would be of course. They appointed Giovanni Battista to attack Lorenzo, and Francesco dei Pazzi and Bernardo Bandini to do as much to Giuliano. But Giovanni Battista excused himself, the former Familiarity he had had with Lorenzo, or some other accident, having mollified his heart. He pretended his Courage would not serve him to commit such an Act in the Church as would add Sacrilege to his Treason; and

his denial was the first step to the destruction of them all; for being straitened in time, they were forced to depute Antonio da Volterra and Stephano the Priest to that Office, two Persons very unapt for such an Action, both in respect of their Nature and Education; and certainly if in anything a resolute and great Mind (accustomed by long Experience to Cruelty and Blood) be necessary, it is in this Case where Princes are to be killed. Having concluded of their time and other Circumstances, there was nothing behind but the signal when they were to begin, which was when the Priest which celebrated the principal Mass should receive the Sacrament himself: at which time the Archbishop of Salviati with his own Followers, Giacopo di Poggio with his, should possess themselves of the Palace of the Senate, that either by persuasion or force the Senate might be brought over to their side as soon as the Brothers were slain.

Upon this Resolution they went to the Church, where the Cardinal and Lorenzo were already in their Seats. The Church was thronged with People, and Divine Service begun, when it was observed that Guiliano was not there; whereupon Francesco dei Pazzi and Bernardo, who were designed to murder him, went to him to his House, and with Intreaties and other Artifice got him along with them to the Church. It is very remarkable, and not often to be matched, that with so horrid and detestable a design at their Hearts, they could carry themselves with that Tranquillity and Composedness; for all the way as they passed they entertained him with youthful and pleasant Discourse: and such was the Security of Francesco, that, under pretence of Caressing and Embracing, he felt about his Body to see whether he was armed. Guiliano and Lorenzo both knew well enough that the Pazzi bore them no good Will, and that with all their hearts they would depose them if they could; but they believed whenever they attempted against them it would be legally, and without any violence upon their Persons, and therefore suspecting nothing of danger in that kind, they dissembled as much kindness to the Pazzi as the Pazzi did to them. The Assassins being ready (those who were to kill Lorenzo, by the help of the Crowd being got up to him without any suspicion on that side, and Giuliano's on the other), the Sign was given, and Bernardo Bandini, with a short Dagger provided on purpose, stabbed Giuliano

into the Breast, who passing a step or two forward, fell down upon the ground; Francesco dei Pazzi threw himself upon him, stabbed him all over, and struck with such fury that he hit his own Leg and made a desperate Wound. Antonio and Stephano in the meantime attempted upon Lorenzo, and making several strokes at him, they wounded him slightly in the Throat, and nowhere else; for either by their own Faint-heartedness, or his Courage in defending himself, or the Interposition of those who were by, all of them were put off, and their whole Enterprize miscarried; whereupon they fled in great terror, and hid themselves as well as they could; but being found, they were shamefully put to death and their Bodies dragged about the City. Lorenzo, on the other side, joining with those Friends he had about him, betook himself to the Vestry and stood upon his guard. Bernardo Bandini seeing Giuliano dead, having an old quarrel to Francesco Nori, a great Friend to the Medici, he killed him into the bargain; and not satisfied with two Murders, he crowded up to Lorenzo with his Courage and Alacrity to supply what the slackness and Cowardice of his Accomplices had left unfinished; but finding him barricadoed in the Vestry, he could not come at him. In the midst of this great Tumult (which was so dreadful it was thought the Church would have been pulled down upon their heads) the Cardinal got up close to the Altar, where by the labour of the Priests he was preserved till the Tumult was appeased, and the Senate sent to conduct him to his own Palace, where he remained in great fear till the time he was dismissed.

There were at that Time in Florence certain Perugians who had been banished from their Houses in the time of their Factions; these Perugians the Pazzi had drawn to their Party by promises of Restitution. So that the Archbishop of Salviati, marching with Giacopo di Poggio and their Followers to secure themselves of the Palace, took them along with him; and being come to the Palace, he left some of his Company below, with orders upon the first Noise above stairs that they should seize upon the Gate, whilst he and the rest of the Perugians went up into the Castle. Finding the Senate was risen (by reason it was late), after a short time he was met by Cesare Petrucci, the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia; so that entering further with him and some few of his Crew, he left the rest without, who walking into the Chancery, by accident

shut themselves in, for the Lock was so contrived that without the Key it was not easily to be opened either within or without. The Archbishop being entered with the Gonfaloniere, pretending to impart some great matter to him from the Pope, he accosted him in so confused and distracted a way the Gonfaloniere, from the disorder both of his Looks and Expressions, began to suspect, sprang from him out of the Chamber with a great cry, and finding Giacopo di Poggio, he caught him by the Hair of the Head and delivered him to one of the Sergeants. The noise running immediately to the Senators, with such Arms as they had about them they set upon the Conspirators, and all of them who went up with the Archbishop (part being shut up and part unable to defend themselves) were either killed or thrown alive out of the Windows. Of this number, the Archbishop, the two other Salviati, and Giacopo di Poggio were hanged. Those who were left below had forced the Guards and possessed themselves of the Gate, insomuch that the Citizens which upon the first Alarm had run into the Castle were not able to assist the Senate either with their Counsel or Arms. Francesco dei Pazzi, in the meantime, and Bernardo Bandini seeing Lorenzo escaped, and one of themselves (upon whom the hopes of that Enterprize did principally depend) most grievously wounded, they were much dismayed. Bernardo concluding all lost, thinking to provide for his Safety with the same Courage as he had injured the Medici, he made his escape. Francesco being returned to his House, tried if he could get on Horseback (for orders were, as soon as the Fact was committed, to gallop about the Town and excite the People to Liberty and Arms); but finding he could not ride by reason of the deepness of his Wound and the great quantity of Blood which he had lost, he desired Giacopo to do that Office for him, and then stripping he threw himself upon the Bed. Giacopo, though an ancient Man, and not versed in such kind of Tumults, to try the last experiment of his Fortune he got on Horseback, and with about an hundred Horse well armed and formerly prepared, he marched towards the Palace crying out Liberty, Liberty! to the People as he went along; but some of them being deafened by their Obligations to the Medici, and the rest not desirous of any change in the Government, none of them came in. The Senators who were on the top of the Palace, and had secured themselves

as well as they could, threw down Stones upon their Heads, and frighted them with Threats as much as possible. Giacopo was in great Confusion, and knew not what to do when his Cousin Giovanni Saristori coming to him, and reproaching him by what was done already, advised him to go home to his House and be quiet, assuring him there were other Citizens who would be as careful of the People and their Liberties as he. Being therefore utterly destitute of all hopes, Lorenzo alive, Francesco wounded, and nobody appearing for him, he resolved to save himself if he could, and marched out of Florence with his Party at his heels, and went towards Romagna.

In the meantime the whole City was in Arms, and Lorenzo, surrounded by a strong Party of armed Men, was reconveyed to his Palace. The Senate's Palace was recovered, and all those who possessed it were either taken or killed. The Name of the Medici was with great Acclamation cried about the City, and the Members of those who were slain were either dragged or carried upon the point of their Swords about the Streets; everybody with great Anger and Cruelty persecuting the Pazzi. Their Houses were all broken up by the People. Francesco, naked as they found him in his bed, was hurried out of his House to the Palace, and hanged up by the Bishop and his Brethren. Yet with all their Contumely by the way, and all their Affronts when he came there, they could not provoke him to give them one Word; only he looked grim, and fixed his Eyes upon every one that abused him, and without any other complaint he silently expired. Guglielmo de' Pazzi, Brother-in-Law to Lorenzo, was preserved in his House, both out of respect to his Innocence and the intercession of Bianca, his Wife. There was not a Citizen in all the City but went either armed or disarmed to Lorenzo in this Exigence, and proffered him both themselves and their Fortunes; so great was the kindness and interest which that Family by their Prudence and Liberality had gained in the People. Whilst this Business happened, Rinato dei Pazzi was retired to his Country-house, intending to disguise himself and escape if he could; but he was discovered, apprehended by the way, and brought back again to Florence. Giacopo was taken likewise passing the Alps; for the Alpigines hearing what happened in Florence, seeing him pass that way, they pursued, took him, and

returned him to Florence; nor could he prevail with them (though several times he made it his earnest Request) to kill him by the way. Four days after this Accident, Giacopo and Rinato were condemned and put to Death; but among all who were executed (and they were so many that the Streets and Highways were full of their Limbs) none was so much lamented as Rinato, for he was always esteemed an honest good Man, not guilty of that Pride and Arrogance which was observed in the rest of his Family. And that this Story might not pass without an extraordinary instance of the fury of the People, Giacopo, who was buried at first in the Sepulchre of his Fathers, afterwards was torn from thence as an excommunicated Person, dragged out of the Walls of the City, and thrown into a Hole; and being taken up again, his Body was drawn (in the same Halter with which he was hanged) naked about the Streets, and having no place allowed it to be quiet at Land, was at last thrown into the Arno. A great Example of the inconstancy of Fortune, to see a Person of his Wealth and Authority pulled so Ignominiously in pieces, and ruined with so many circumstances of Contempt. They spake indeed of his Vices and of a strange propensity in him to Swearing and Play above the degree of the most profligate Person; but those Infirmities were abundantly recompensed in his Charity and Beneficence; for he was a great reliever of the Poor, and endowed several Places of Devotion. The Sunday before this Plot was to be executed, that no Man might be a Sufferer by any ill Fortune of his, he paid all his Debts, and all the Effects in his Warehouses or Custody which belonged to other Persons he consigned to their several Owners with an unimaginable care. After a long Examination, Giovan Battista Montesecco was at last condemned, and his Head struck off. Guglielmo dei Pazzi was banished, and his Kinsmen which were left alive imprisoned in a Dungeon in the Castle of Volterra. When the Tumult was over and the Conspirators executed, Giuliano's Funeral was celebrated with the universal Condolement of the City, he having been a Person of as much goodness and humanity as could be desired in one of his quality and extraction. He had only one Son, born some Months after his Death, who was christened Giulio, who proved so remarkable for his Virtue and Fortune, that the whole World rings of his Reputation at this day, and if

God gives me Life I shall speak largely of, when I come to the description of his Times.

The Forces which were got together under Lorenzo da Castello in the Vale of di Tevero under Giovan Francesco Tolentino in Romagna, in behalf of the Pazzi, were in their march towards Florence; but hearing of the miscarriage of their Affairs they returned from whence they came. Nevertheless, the Pope and the King of Naples (though their Conspiracy had failed, and not produced those Mutations which they hoped for in Florence) resolved to attempt that by open War which could not otherwise be effected, and both the one and the other caused their Forces to advance towards that City with all possible diligence, declaring as they went, that all the design of their march, and all their desire of the Citizens, was not removing, but the removal of Lorenzo, who was the only Enemy he had in the Town. The King's Army had already passed the Tronto, and the Pope's was in the Country of Perugia; and lest his Temporal Power should be too little, he let loose his Spiritual Maledictions and Excommunications against him. Whereupon the Florentines, seeing themselves invaded with such formidable Numbers, addressed themselves to their defence with all possible care. Lorenzo de' Medici (because the War was pretended only against him) pressed very earnestly that all the chief Citizens might be invited to the Palace before the Senate; and above 300 of them appearing, he spake to them in this manner:—

Most noble Lords, and you most magnificent Citizens, I do not well know whether I am to congratulate or condole with you this day for the things which are passed; and truly when I consider with what Malice and Collusion I was assaulted and my Brother slain, I cannot but condole, and my whole Heart and Soul is overwhelmed with the Affliction. When after that I revolve with what promptitude, with what zeal, with what love, with what unanimity and universal consent of the whole City his Death was revenged and mine prevented, I cannot but rejoice, nay, even triumph and exult. For as Experience has now taught me that I had more Enemies in this City than I suspected, it has convinced me, on the other side, I had more true Friends than I could have hoped for: so that I am to congratulate your Goodness, and to condole the Injury and Iniquity of other People, which is the more deplorable

because rare and undeserved. Think, I beseech you, most noble Citizens, to what point of Infelicity Fortune hath brought our Family, when even among our Friends, our Relations, and in the very Church we are in danger. Those who are in distress or apprehension of Death are wont to fly to their Friends and Relations for shelter; we found ours not only disposed, but armed and prepared, and impatient to destroy us. Those who are under any publick or private Persecution have usually their Refuge and Sanctuary in the Church. Where others are protected, we are assaulted; where Parricides and Murderers are secured, the Medici are murdered themselves. But God, who has not hitherto deserted our Family, has preserved us and undertaken our defence. What injury have we done anybody that could deserve such vehement revenge? Sure we ourselves never offended those Persons who have been so furious against us; if we had, we should not have left them in that capacity to revenge themselves. If it be publick Censure or Injury which provoked them (and of that too I know nothing), 'tis you, not we are offended. This Palace, this Senate, and the Majesty of this Government is aspersed with undeserved Decrees against the Citizens, in partiality to us, which to my own knowledge is far from being true. We would not have injured them if we had been able, and you would not have suffered us had we been willing. Whoever traces the truth to the bottom will find our Family was not exalted by this Government for nothing; if I may speak it modestly, it was their Humanity, their Bounty, their Munificence which constrained you to it. If then we have been beneficial to Strangers, how came our Relations to be disgusted? If their appetite of Dominion prompted them to what they have done (and the seeing of this Palace, and filling the Piazza with armed Men, is an evident demonstration it was nothing else), the Design is sufficient conviction, and shows their Brutality and Ambition. If it were hatred and detestation of our Authority, it was you that gave it us, and it is you were injured. But certainly, if any Power or Authority deserves to be regretted, 'tis that which is usurped, not that which is acquired by a continued stream of Kindness and Liberality. I appeal to you, most illustrious Senators, whether any of my Predecessors arrived at their Grandeur any way but by the unanimous consent and promotion of this Court. My Grandfather Cosimo returned not from his Banishment by violence and force of Arms, but by your invitation. My ancient and

infirm Father was too weak to have supported his Authority against so many Enemies; it was your Bounty, it was your Authority which defended it. When my Father was dead, and I (though but a Child) was left to succeed him, alas! how could I have maintained the Honour and Dignity of the Family without your favour and instruction? Our House never was, nor ever will be, able to govern this State without your co-operation and assistance. I cannot imagine therefore what quarrel they should have had against us, or what just reason for their Envy; they should rather have turned their indignation upon their own Ancestors, who with their Insolence and Avarice defeated them of that Honour, which ours have gained by their generosity and goodness. But let as gratifie them so far as to grant we had injured them, and that their Combinations against us were but reasonable and just, Why must they conspire against this Palace? Why must they confederate with the Pope and King of Naples against the Innocence and Liberty of this Commonwealth? Why must all Italy be involved in a War? For this they can have no excuse. If any Man have offended them, they might have offended him again, and not blended and confounded private Injury with publick Revenge. This is it which revives our Calamities, though the Authors are extinct. That is it which has brought the Pope and the King of Naples upon us with their Armies, though their Declaration be only against me and my Family. I wish to God it were true, and that their design was no farther. The Remedy would be easie, and your Deliverance at hand. I should not be so ill a Citizen as to postpone the publick to my private Security; no, I would willingly quench your Flames, though with my own Blood and Destruction. But because the Injuries of great Persons are always cloathed with some plausible pretence, they have chosen this to exasperate you against me; if you think I deserve it, I am now in your hands, to be continued or rejected, as you please. You are my Fathers; you are my Patrons; whatever you command I will endeavour to do; and not refuse with my own Blood to finish this War, which is begun with my Brothers'.

The Citizens could not contain from Tears whilst Lorenzo was speaking, and with the same pity as they had heard him, he was answered by one deputed by the rest: *That the whole City did acknowledge the Merits both of his Ancestors and himself; that he should be of good cheer, for with the same readiness and devotion*

as they had revenged his Brothers' death and prevented his, they would preserve his Person and Reputation, and expose their whole Country rather than desert him. That their Actions might be commensurate, they appointed him a Guard, to secure him against domestick Designs, and paid them out of the publick Treasure; after which they addressed themselves to the War, and raised what Men and Money they were able. They sent for Aid to the Duke of Milan and the Venetians, according to the League; and the Pope, more like a Wolf than a Shepherd, being ready to devour them, they tried all ways to justifie themselves that they could think of, possessed all Italy with his Treachery against their State, remonstrated his Impieties to all the World, and that he exercised his Papacy with as much Injustice as he gained it; for he had sent those whom he had advanced to the highest degree of Prelacy in the Company of Traytors and Murderers to commit Treason in the Church in the time of Divine Service and the Celebration of the Sacrament; and after that (having been unable to kill all the Citizens, alter the Government, and sack the City) he interdicted it with his Pontifical Maledictions and threatened to destroy it. But if God were just, and the violences of Men offensive to Him, He must needs be displeased at the proceeding of His Vicar, and permit that Men (having no other Refuge) might resort unto Him. For which reason the Florentines not only refused his Interdiction, but forced their Priests to celebrate Divine Service as before. They called a Council in Florence of all the Tuscan Prelates within their Jurisdiction, and appealed to them concerning their differences with the Pope; against which, in justification of his Cause, it was alledged that it belonged properly to the Pope to supplant Tyrants, to suppress ill Men, and to advance good; all which he was to remedy as opportunity was offered; but that secular Princes had no right to imprison Cardinals, to execute Bishops, to kill, or dismember, or drag about the Streets the Bodies of the Priests, and to use the Innocent and the Nocent without any difference or distinction.

Nevertheless the Florentines, not at all refusing his Quarrels and Complaints, dismissed the Cardinal, which was in their power, and sent him back to the Pope; yet the Pope, without any regard to that Civility, caused them to be invaded with all his Forces and the King's. Both their Armies (under the Com-

mand of Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, Ferrando's eldest Son, and Federigo, Conte d'Urbino) entered Chianti, and by means of the Siennesi, who were of the Enemy's Party, took Radda, several other Castles, and plundered the whole Country. Next they encamped before Castellina. The Florentines seeing themselves thus fiercely attacked, were in great fear, as having but few Men of their own, and the Assistance of their Friends coming in very slowly; for though the Duke, indeed, had sent them Supplies, yet the Venetians refused it, as not thinking themselves obliged to relieve them in their particular Quarrels; for, as they pretended, private Animosities were not in reason to be defended at a publick Expence. So that the Florentines, to dispose the Venetian to better things, sent Tomaso Soderini Ambassador to that State, whilst in the meantime they raised what Men they could, and made Hercules, Marquess of Ferrara, their General. Whilst in this manner they were employed in their Preparations, the Enemy had brought Castellina to such distress, that, despairing of Relief, the Garrison surrendered, after forty Days' siege. From hence the Enemy advanced towards Arezzo, and sat down before Monte S. Senino. The Florentine Army was by this time drawn out, and being marched towards the Enemy, had posted itself within three Miles of them, and incommoded them so, that Federigo sent to Urbino to desire a Truce for some few Days; which was granted, but with so much disadvantage to the Florentines, that those who requested it were amazed when they had obtained it, for without it they must have drawn off with disgrace. But having those Days allowed to recollect themselves, when the time was expired they went on with their Siege, and took the Town under the very Nose of our Army. By this time Winter being come, to provide themselves good Quarters, the Enemy drew his Army into the Country of Sienna, the Florentines where they thought most convenient, and the Marquess of Ferrara (having done little good to himself or other People) returned from whence he came.

About this time Genoa was in Rebellion against the State of Milan, and upon this occasion, Galeazzo being dead, and his Son Giovan Galeazzo a Minor, and unfit for the Government, difference arose betwixt Sforza, Lodovico, Ottaniano, Ascanio, his Uncles, and Madonna Bona, his Mother, each of them pretending

to the Tuition of the Child. In which competition Madonna Bona, the Duchess Dowager, prevailed, by the Counsels of Tomaso Soderini (the Florentine Ambassador in that Court at that time) and Cecco Simonetto, who had been Secretary to the late Galeazzo; whereupon Sforza flying from Milan, Ottaniano was drawn, as he was passing the Adda, and the rest dispersed into several Places. Roberto de San Severino ran the same Fortune, and fled, having forsaken the Duchess in those Disputes, and joined himself with the Uncles. The Troubles falling out not long after in Tuscany, those Princes hoping from new Accidents or new Success, every one of them attempted what he thought likely to restore him to his Country. King Ferrando observing the only Refuge the Florentines had in their Necessities was to the State of Milan, determined to give the Duchess so much Employment of her own, that she should not be at leisure to send them any Relief; and by means of Prospero Adorno, the Signore Roberto, and the Sforzi, which were banished, he wrought so that Genoa rebelled. Nevertheless the little Castle remained firm to the young Duke, and the Duchess sent Forces to them to recover the Town, but they were overthrown; whereupon considering with herself the danger which might accrew both to her Son and herself if the War should be continued, all Tuscany being imbroiled and the Florentines in distress, she resolved, seeing she could not retain Genoa as a Subject, that she would have it as a Friend, and agreed with Battistino Fregosi (a great Enemy to Prospero Adorno) to deliver him the Castle and make him Prince of Genoa, upon condition he would drive out Prospero and give the Sforzi no assistance nor protection. After all was concluded betwixt them the Castle was surrendered, and by the help of that and his Party, Battistino reducing Genoa, and, according to their custom, made himself Doge; the Sforzi and Signore Roberto being forced out of the Town, they passed with their followers into Lunigiana.

The Pope and the King, seeing the Troubles in Lombardy composed, took occasion to infest Tuscany on that side towards Pisa with those Persons which were driven out of Genoa, supposing by dividing and diverting their Forces to weaken the Florentines; whereupon the Summer approaching, they prevailed with the Signore Roberto to march with his Squadron from Lunigiana into the Country of Pisa. Roberto put the whole Country

into confusion, took several Castles from the Pisans and plundered them, and made his Excursions to the very Walls of Pisa itself. About this time Ambassadors arrived at Florence from the Emperor, the King of France, and the King of Hungary, who, from their several Princes being sent to the Pope, persuaded the Florentines to send Ambassadors also, and promised their utmost endeavour with him to conclude all their Differences with an honourable Peace. The Florentines consented, as well to excuse themselves to the World as that they were really desirous of it. Having sent therefore their Ambassadors, they returned as they went, without any Accommodation; and the Florentines finding themselves abused or abandoned by the Italians, resolved to try if they could gain themselves any Reputation by an Alliance with France, to which purpose they sent as their Ambassador Donato Acciaivoli, a Person well skilled both in the Greek and Latin Tongues, whose Ancestors had always borne great Office in that State; but being arrived at Milan in his Journey, he died; and Florence, in honour to his Memory and Remuneration to his Children, buried him magnificently at the publick Charge, gave his Sons considerable Exemptions, and his Daughters such Portions as would marry them like themselves, and sent Guid' Antonio Vespucci, a Man well versed in the Imperial and Pontifical Laws, to the King of France in his place. The inroad Signore Roberto had made into the Country of Pisa (as all sudden and unexpected things do) gave the Florentines no little distraction. For the War lying heavy upon them in the Country of Siena, they could not see how they should be able to defend themselves on the other side. However, they sent Officers and all other Provisions to reinforce the City of Pisa; and that they might keep the Lucchesi from assisting the Enemy with Money or anything else, they sent Gino Capponi as their Ambassador to them; but he was received so ill, out of an ancient Enmity to the People of Florence (upon former Injuries received, and a constant apprehension of them), that he was many times in danger of being killed by the Multitude. So that his Journey produced new Quarrels rather than new Quiet; and thereupon the Florentines called back the Marquess of Ferrara, entertained the Marquess of Mantoua into their Pay, and with great Importunity desired of the Venetians Count Carlo, the Son of Braccio,

and Deifebo, the Son of Count Giacopo, who, after several Scruples and Demurs, were sent to them; for having made Peace with the Turk, and no pretence left to excuse themselves, they were ashamed to break faith with the League. Carlo, therefore, and Deifebo being come, with a considerable number of Horse, and joined to what Forces they could conveniently draw out of the Marquess of Ferrara's Army (which attended the Duke of Calabria), they marched towards Pisa in quest of Signore Roberto, who was posted with his Army near the River Serchio; and though at first he made a show of expecting our Army, yet upon second thoughts he removed, and retired into the Country of Lunigiana, to the same Quarters where he lay before his Expedition to Pisa. Upon his departure, Count Carlo repossessed himself of all the Enemy had taken in that Country; and the Florentines being clear on that side, drew all their Forces into one Body betwixt Colle and Santo Giminiano; but upon Carlo's Conjunction, there being several of the Sforzeschi and the Bracceschi in the Army, the old Feud began to revive, and it was believed, had they stayed longer together, they had fallen together by the Ears. To prevent these Inconveniences it was resolved to divide the Army; that Count Carlo should march with his Forces into the Country of Perugia, and the rest fortifie and intrench themselves at Poggibonzi, to obstruct the Enemy from entering into the Country of Florence. By this Division they supposed likewise the Enemy would be forced to divide, for they thought that either Count Carlo would take Perugia (where he had a great Party, as they believed) or that the Pope would be constrained to send a good body of Men to defend it; and to drive his Holiness into greater necessity, they ordered Nicolo Vitelli (who had left Castello, where Lorenzo, his Enemy, was predominant), with what force he could make, to approach the Town, to drive out his Adversary if he could, and keep it against the Pope.

At first Fortune seemed inclined to the Florentines. Count Carlo advanced strangely in the Country of Perugia; Nicolo Vitelli, though he could not get into the Town of Castello, yet he was Master of the Field, and plundered round about it without any contradiction; and those Forces which were encamped at Poggibonsi made their Excursions to the very Walls of Sienna. But at last all their hopes came to nothing, for first Count Carlo

died in the very height of their expectations, whose Death had nevertheless much bettered the Condition of the Florentines, had they known how to have improved the Victory which it produced; for no sooner was the Death of Count Carlo known but the Pope's Army (being all together in Perugia), conceiving great hopes of overpowering the Florentines, took the Field, and encamped upon the Lake within three Miles of the Enemy. On the other side, Giacopo Guicciardini (at that time Commissary of the Army), by the advice of Roberto da Rimini (who since the Death of Count Carlo was the chief and best-reputed Officer among them), knowing what it was that set the Enemy agog, they resolved to attend him, and coming to a Battle not far from the Lake (in the very place where Hannibal gave the Romans that memorable Defeat), the Pope's army was routed. The News of this Victory was extremely welcome in Florence, both to the Magistrates and People; and it would have been great Honour and Advantage to that Enterprize had not Disorders in the Army at Poggibonsi spoiled all, and the Victory over the one Camp been interrupted by a Mutiny in the other; for that Army having got much plunder in the Country of Sienna, when they came to divide there fell out great difference betwixt the Marquess of Ferrara and the Marquess of Mantoua, so that they came to blows, and did one another what mischief they were able.

The Florentines finding no good was to be expected from them together, consented that the Marquess of Ferrara with his Forces might march home; by which means the Army being weakened without a Head and very disorderly, the Duke of Calabria being with his Army not far from Sienna, took a Resolution of falling upon them; but the Florentines hearing of his advance, not trusting to their Arms, their Numbers (which was much greater than the Enemy), nor the situation of their Camp (which was very strong), without expecting their coming, or seeing so much as the Face of their Enemy, as soon as they perceived the Dust they fled, and left their Ammunition and Carriages and Artillery behind them; and so cowardly and poor-spirited that Army was become that the turning of a Horse's Head or Tail gave either Victory or Defeat. This Rout filled the King's Soldiers with prize and the Florentines with fear; for that City was not only afflicted with War, but with so violent a Pestilence that most of the Inhabitants

were forced to leave the Town and betake themselves to the Country. This Overthrow was rendered more terrible by Sickness; for those Citizens who had Estates in the Val di Pisa and the Val Delsa, being driven thither, and secure, were forced (upon this Rout) to hurry back again to Florence as well as they could, and that not only with their Goods and their Children, but with all their Families and Dependants, for every Hour they were afraid the Enemy would have presented himself before the Town. They who had the Administration of the War, being sensible of these Disorders, commanded their Army (which was victorious in Perugia) that, leaving their Designs there, they should march into the Val Delsa and oppose themselves against the Enemy, who, since their last Victory, overran that Country. And though that Army had so straitened Perugia it was every Hour expected to surrender, yet the Florentines chose rather to defend themselves than to gain upon anybody else; and raising their Siege, they were conducted to S. Casciano, a Castle about eight Miles from Florence, as the only place where they might lie secure till the other Army was rallied and brought to them. The Enemy on the other side, being at Liberty in Perugia, upon the withdrawing of the Florentines, took heart and made their Inroads daily into the Countries of Arezzo and Cortona; and the other Army, which, under the Command of the Duke of Calabria, had routed them at Poggibonsi, took Poggibonsi and Vico, pillaged Certaldo, made great spoil, and got great Prize in that Country, after they sat down before Colle, which (in those Times) was looked upon as extraordinary strong, and being well Manned and provided with all things, it was hoped it might entertain the Enemy till their Armies could be united.

The Florentines having joined all their Forces at S. Casciano, and the Enemy proceeding very fiercely in their Leaguer, they resolved to march towards them, and post themselves as near them as they could, supposing they should thereby not only encourage the Garrison to defend themselves, but make the Enemy more cautious in all his Attacks. Hereupon they removed from S. Casciano, and encamped at S. Gimignano, about five Miles from Colle, from whence, with their Horse and the lightest of their Foot, they daily molested the Duke's Camp; but this was not enough for the Garrison in Colle, for wanting all Things that were

necessary, they surrendered the 13th of November, to the great displeasure of the Florentines, but the great joy of the Enemy, especially the Siennesi, who besides their common hatred to Florence, had a particular quarrel against this Town.

Winter was now at the height; the Season unfit for War; and the Pope and King (to give them hopes of Peace, or to enjoy their Victory quietly themselves) offered a Truce for three Months to the Florentines, and allowed them ten Days for an Answer; which Proffer was accepted. But as a Wound is more painful when cold than when 'tis first given, this small Repose gave the Florentines greater sense of the Miseries which they had endured; insomuch as they began to talk freely and upbraid one another by the Miscarriages in the War, charging one another with the greatness of the Expence and the inequality of their Taxes; and these Exprobations were not only in the Streets and among the ordinary sort of People, but even in their Conventions and publick Councils, in which one of them took the confidence to tell Lorenzo to his face that the City was weary and would have no more War, and that therefore he should bethink himself of Peace: upon which Lorenzo discerning the necessity, advised with such of his Friends as he judged most faithful and able, and it was concluded by all, that seeing the Venetians were cold and uncertain, the Duke young, and imbroiled in new Troubles at home, their best way would be to seek out for new Alliance, and try what that would contribute to their Success. Their great scruple was, into whose Arms they should cast themselves, whether into the Pope's or the King of Naples'; and upon serious debate, it was resolved into the King's, as a Person of more stability, and likely to yield them better protection, in regard of the shortness of the Popes' Lives and the changes upon their Successions. For the small fear the Church has of any Prince, and the small regard it has of anybody else in all its Resolutions, causes that no secular Prince can repose any entire Confidence or communicate freely in his Affairs with any of the Popes; for he that associates with him in War and in Dangers may perhaps have a Companion and a Sharer in his Victories, but in his distress he shall be sure to be alone, his Holiness being still brought off by his spiritual Influence and Authority. It being therefore determined more profitable to reconcile with the King, there could be no way thought of so likely

as by Lorenzo himself; for by how much the more that King had tasted of his Liberality, by so much the more they thought it probable he might succeed. Lorenzo embracing the Motion, and having prepared for his Journey, committed the City and Government to Tomaso Soderini (at that time Gonfaloniere di Giustizia), and left Florence in the beginning of December. Being arrived at Pisa in his way, he writ to the Senate, and gave them an account of his design; and the Senate in honour to him, and that he might treat with more Reputation, made him Ambassador for the People of Florence, and gave him Authority to conclude with him, according to his own judgment and discretion. About this time, Signore Roberto da Santo Severino joining with Lodovico and Ascanio (for their Brother Sforza was dead), they invaded the State of Milan, in hopes to have reinvested themselves. Having possessed themselves of Tortona and Milan, and the whole State being in Arms, the Duchess was advised (to compose her civil Dissensions) to restore the Sforzi, and receive them into the Government again. Her great Counsellor in this was Antonio Tassino, a Ferrarese, who, though meanly extracted, being come to Milan, was preferred to be Chamberlain both to the Duke and the Duchess.

This Antonio, for the comeliness of his Person, or some other secret Excellence, after the Duke's death, grew into great favour with the Duchess, and in a manner governed the whole State; which was very unpleasing to Cecco, a Man of great prudence and long experience in publick Affairs, insomuch that he used all his Interest both with the Duchess and the rest of the Governours to clip the Wings of his Authority and remove him. Antonio having notice of his design to countermine him, and have somebody near which might be able to defend him, he advised the Duchess to restore the Sforzi; and the Duchess following his persuasion, invited them back again without communicating with Cecco: upon which he is reported to have told her that she had done a thing which would cost him his Life and deprive her of the Government. And so afterwards it fell out; for Cecco was put to Death by Lorenzo, and Tassino turned out of Milan, which the Duchess took in such dudgeon, that she forsook the Town and left the Government of her Son to his Uncle Lodovico; which Act of hers, in leaving that whole Duchy to the Government of Lodovico, was the ruin of Italy, as shall be shown in its place.

Lorenzo de Medici was in his Journey towards Naples, and the Truce betwixt the Parties in a very fair way, when on a sudden, beyond all expectation, Lodovico Fregoso having intelligence in Serezana, surprized the Town, and made all Prisoners whom he found any ways affected to the Florentines. This Accident was highly resented by the Governors of Florence, for they imagined it done by the order of Ferrando, and therefore complained heavily to the Duke of Calabria (who was with his Army at Sienna) that whilst they were in Treaty they should be assaulted so treacherously; but the Duke assured them by Letters, and an Embassy on purpose, that what had passed was done without either his consent or his Father's. However, the Affairs of the Florentines were judged in a very ill Condition; their Treasure being exhausted, their Prince in the hands of the King, an old War on foot with the Pope and the King, a new War commenced with the Genoesi, and no Friends to support them; for they had no hopes of the Venetian, and of the State of Milan they had more reason to be afraid, it was so various and unstable: the only hope remaining to the Florentines was in Lorenzo's Address to the King.

Lorenzo arrived at Naples by Sea, was honourably received both by the King and the whole City; and though the War was begun for no other end but to ruin him, yet the greatness of his Enemies did but add to his Grandeur; for being brought to his Audience, he delivered himself so handsomely, and discoursed so well of the Condition of Italy, of the Humours of all the Princes and People therein, and gave so good Account of what was to be dreaded by War, and what was to be hoped for by Peace, that the King admired the greatness of his Mind, the dexterity of his Wit, the solidity of his Judgment, more now than he had wondered before how he could alone sustain so great an Invasion, insomuch that he doubled his Respects towards him, and began to think it his Interest much more to make him his Friend than to continue him his Enemy. Nevertheless, upon sundry pretences and fetches, he kept him in dispence from December to March, not only to satisfie himself in a farther experience of Lorenzo, but to inform himself of the infidelity of Florence; for that City was not without those who would have been glad the King would have kept him, and handled him as Giacopo Piccinino was handled. These

People began to complain and spake ill of him all over the Town, to oppose themselves publickly in the Councils against anything that was moved in favour to Lorenzo, and gave out generally wherever they came, that if the King kept him much longer at Naples, they would alter the Government: so that the King forbore to dispatch him for some time, in expectation of a Tumult. But finding all quiet, and no likelihood of any such thing, on the 6th of March 1479 he dismissed him, having first presented him so nobly and treated him so honourably that they had made a perpetual League, and obliged themselves mutually for the preservation of one another's Dominions.

If therefore Lorenzo was great when he went from Florence, he was much greater when he returned, and was received with a Joy and Acclamation in the City suitable to his Quality and the recency of his Deserts, who had ventured his own Life so frankly to procure Peace to his Country. Two Days after his Arrival the Articles of Peace were published, by which both the State of Florence and King had particularly obliged themselves to a common Defence; that such Towns as were taken from the Florentines during the War (if in the King's Power) should be restored; that the Pazzi, which were Prisoners at Volterra, should be discharged, and a certain Sum of Money paid to the Duke of Calabria for a prefixed time. This Peace was no sooner published but the Pope and the Venetians were infinitely offended, the Pope thinking himself neglected by the King, and the Venetians by the Florentines, for both one and the other having been Partners in the War, they took it unkindly to be left out of the Peace. Their displeasure being reported and believed at Florence, it was presently apprehended that the effect of this Peace would be a greater War.

Hereupon the Governors of the State began to think of contracting the Government and reducing it into a lesser number of Ministers, appointing a Council of seventy Citizens to transact such Affairs as were of principal importance. This new Constitution settled the minds of those who were desirous of Innovation; and to give it a reputation, the first thing they did was to ratifie the Peace which Lorenzo had made with the King, and they appointed Antonio Ridolfi and Piero Nasi Ambassadors to the Pope. Notwithstanding this Peace, the Duke of Calabria departed from the

Country of Siena with his Army, pretending he was retained by the Dissensions of that City, which were so great, that being quartered not far off, he was invited into the Town and their Differences referred to his Arbitration. The Duke accepted the Overture, fined several of the Citizens, imprisoned several; banished some, and some he put to death; so that he became suspicious, not only to the Siennesi, but to the Florentines also, that his design was to make himself Prince of that City; nor could they devise any remedy, seeing they had entered into a League with the King, and thereby made both Pope and Venetians their Enemies. And this Suspicion was not only got into the brains of the Multitude in Florence (a subtle interpreter of Affairs), but into the minds also of the Governours; so that it was generally concluded the Liberty of that City was never in more danger; but God, who has always had a particular care of it in all its Extremities, averted that Evil, and by an unexpected Accident gave the King, the Pope, and the Venetians a Diversion which imported them more than their Advantages in Tuscany.

Mahomet, the great Turk, was with a great Army encamped before Rhodes, and had lain before it several Months. Though his Forces were numerous and his Diligence great, yet the Valour of the Besieged was not to be mastered, for they defended themselves so bravely, he was forced to draw off and quit the Siege with a great deal of dishonour. Having left Rhodes, he sent part of his Fleet, under the Command of Giacometto Bascia towards Velona, and (either upon consideration of the easiness of the Enterprize, or express command from the Grand Signore to that purpose) coasting about Italy, on a sudden he landed 6000 Men, assaulted the City of Otranto, took it, plundered it, killed all the Inhabitants, and when he had done, fortified both the Town and the Harbour as much as possibly he could, and with a good Party of Horse scoured the whole Country about it. The King being much alarmed at this Invasion, as knowing how great a Monarch he had to deal with, sent his Ambassadors about to everybody, to let them know his Condition, and to beg their Assistance against the common Enemy; besides which, he pressed the Duke of Calabria with all imaginable Importunity to leave his designs at Siena and come back with all his Forces. This Invasion, though it was very dreadful to the Duke and all the

rest of Italy, yet it was welcome to Florence and Siena, the one thinking its Liberty most miraculously preserved, and the other themselves as strangely delivered from those Dangers which would of necessity have destroyed them. Which opinion was much increased by the unwillingness wherewith the Duke departed from Siena, complaining and cursing his Fortune, which by so unreasonable and an unexpected Accident had defeated him of the Dominion of Tuscany. The same thing changed the Councils of the Pope; and whereas before he would never admit any Ambassador from Florence, he was grown now so meek he would hear anybody speak of a General Peace; and word was sent to the Florentines, that whenever they found themselves inclined, ask pardon of the Pope, they would be sure to have it. The Florentines thought not fit to slip so fair an occasion, and therefore sent twelve Ambassadors to the Pope, who entertained them with diverse Practices after they were arrived at Rome, before he admitted them to Audience: yet at length it was adjusted how all Parties should comport for the future, and what every one should contribute in time of Peace, as well as in War; after which the Ambassadors were admitted to the feet of the Pope, who was placed in great Pomp, with his Cardinals about him.

The Ambassadors, to extenuate what had passed, laid the Fault sometimes upon their own Necessities, sometimes upon the Malignity of other People; sometimes upon the popular Fury, sometimes upon their own just Indignation, as being so unhappy to be forced either to fight or to die; and because Death is the most terrible of all things, and all things will be tried before that will be embraced, they had endured the War, the Excommunications, and all the ill consequences which followed, rather than suffer their Liberty (which is the Life of a Commonwealth) to be taken from them and extinguished. Nevertheless, if their Necessity had run them upon the Rocks, and forced them to do anything which was displeasing to him, they were ready to make him Satisfaction, and did hope, according to the Example of their gracious Redeemer, he would be as ready to receive them into his most merciful Arms. To which Excuses his Holiness replied with great Heat and Indignation, reproaching them by all the Mischiefs which they had done to the Church. Nevertheless, to preserve the Commandments of God, he was contented to grant them their Pardon as they desired,

but intimated withal that they were to be more obedient for the future, and if again they transgressed, that Liberty which now they were only like to have lost should be then taken wholly, and that justly, away, because they who deserved to be free were such as practised good things and not bad, and Liberty abused was destructive both to themselves and other People. For to neglect their Duty either to God or His Church was not the Office of good Men, but of such as were dissolute and lewd; the Correction of which belongeth not only to Princes, but to all that are Christians: so that for what was to be passed they were to lay the fault upon themselves, who by their ill Deeds had given occasion of the War, and continued it by their worse: but now that was at an end, yet it was attributed more to the goodness of other People than any merit in them; after which he gave them his Benediction and the Form of the Agreement, to which he had added (besides what had been debated and concluded on in Council) that if the Florentines expected any Fruit from his Blessing, they should furnish out fifteen Gallies, and keep them in their Pay till the Turk was beaten out of Italy. The Ambassadors complained grievously to have an Article of that weight superadded to what was concluded in the Treaty; but by all the Friends they could make and all the Arts they could use, they could not prevail to have it expunged; whereupon returning to Florence, that Senate, to perfect the Peace, sent Guid' Antonio Vespucci (who not long before was returned from France) their Ambassador to his Holiness, and by his prudence he brought the Terms to be tolerable, and as a greater sign of his Reconciliation received several other marks of his Holiness's favour. The Florentines having put an end to all their differences with the Pope, Siena being free, they delivered from their apprehensions of the King by the Duke of Calabria drawing away with his Army out of Tuscany, and the War continuing with the Turks, they pressed the King so hard to the restitution of such Places as the Duke of Calabria at his departure had committed to the keeping of the Sanesi, that he began to fear the Florentines might desert him, and by making War upon the Sanesi, hinder the Assistance which he expected from the Pope and the rest of the Princes of Italy; whereupon he caused them all to be delivered, and by several new favours reobliged the Florentines to him: from

whence we may observe that it is Interest and Necessity, not their Hands or their Words, which make Princes keep their Promises. These Castles being restored and the new League confirmed, Lorenzo de' Medici gained greater reputation than the War first, and after the Peace (when they were jealous of the King) had taken from him. For at that time there wanted not those who calumniated him openly as one who, to preserve himself, had sold his Country, and as by the War they had lost their Towns, by the Peace they should lose their Liberty. But when the Towns were restored, and honourable Peace concluded with the King, and the City returned to its ancient Reputation, the People (who are generally greedy to talk, and judge of Things more by the Success than the Counsel) changed their Note presently, and cried up Lorenzo to the Skies, as one who had gained more by his management in that Peace than their ill fortune had got them by the War, and that his Prudence and Judgment had done what all the Armies and Power of their Enemies could not.

This descent of the Turks deferred the War, which the Pope and the Venetians upon provocation of that Peace had designed against them. But as the beginning of the Turkish Invasion was unexpected, and produced much good, so the end of it was unlooked for and the occasion of much mischief; for Mahomet, the Grand Signore, died suddenly, and difference arising betwixt his Sons, those who were landed at Puglia, being abandoned by their Lord, came to an Agreement with the King of Naples, and delivered up Otranto into his hands. This fear therefore being removed, which kept the Pope and the Venetians quiet, every one began to be apprehensive of new Troubles. On the one side the Pope and the Venetians were in League, and with them Genoesi, Siennesi, and other lesser Potentates. On the other side were the Florentines, the King of Naples, the Duke of Milan, and with them the Bolognesi and several other little States. The Venetians had a design upon Ferrara; they thought they had reason enough to attempt it, and hopes enough to carry it. The reason was, because the Marquess had declared himself obliged no longer to receive either their Visdomine or their Salt, for by Compact after seventy Years that City was to be exempt both from the one and the other. To which the Venetians replied, that so long as he retained the Polesine, so long he was to receive

the Visdomine and the Salt; but the Marquess refusing, they thought they had just occasion to take Arms, and their opportunity was convenient, seeing the Pope in such Indignation both against the Florentines and King. To oblige him the more, Count Girolamo being by accident at Venice, was honourably treated, made a Gentleman of that City, and had all the Privileges and Immunities of a Citizen conferred upon him, which is a particular favour, and shows always the great esteem they bear to the Person which receives it. In preparation of this War they laid new Taxes upon their Subjects, and for their General they had chosen Roberto da San Severino, who, upon some difference betwixt him and Lodovick Duke of Milan, fled to Tortona, and having made some Tumults there, he got off to Genoa, from whence he was invited by the Venetians, and made General of their Army. The news of these Preparations coming to the ears of the League, they prepared themselves accordingly. The Duke of Milan chose Federigo Lord of Urbin for his General; the Florentines, Costanzo di Pesaro; and to sound the Pope and discover whether these Proceedings of the Venetians were by his consent, King Ferrando sent the Duke of Calabria with his Army to quarter upon the Tronto, and desired leave of his Holiness that they might pass through his Territories, from thence into Lombardy to the relief of the Marquess; which being absolutely denied, the Florentines and King thinking that a sufficient declaration of his Mind, resolved to attempt it by force, and try if that they could make him their Friend, or at least give him such impediments as should hinder his supplying of the Venetians, who had already taken the Field, invaded the Marquess, overrun most of the Country, and clapped down with their Army before Figarolo, a Castle of great importance to the Affairs of that Prince. The King and the Florentines having in the meantime concluded to fall upon the Pope, Alfonso Duke of Calabria marched his Army towards Rome, and by the help of the Colonnesi (who were joined with him in opposition to the Orsini, who sided with the Pope) he committed great Spoils all over that Country. On the other side, the Florentines, under the Command of Nicolo Vitelli, assaulted the City of Castello, took it, turned out Lorenzo, who had kept it for the Pope, and gave it to Nicolo as Prince. The Pope was at this time in very great

Anxiety. Rome was full of Factions within, and the Enemy in the Country without. Nevertheless (like a courageous Prince, resolved to overcome, not to yield to his Enemies) he entertained for his General Roberto da Rimini, and inviting him to Rome, where he had assembled all the Forces he could make, he represented how great an Honour it would be to him if he could rescue the Church from the Calamities which were upon it, and that not only himself and his Successors, but God Almighty would reward him. Roberto having taken a view of his Army and all the Magazines, he persuaded the Pope to raise him what Foot he could more, which was done with great diligence and expedition. The Duke of Calabria was all this while foraging about that Country, and making his Inroads to the very Walls of the City; which nettled and provoked the Citizens so, as many of them came freely and offered their Service to remove them, which Roberto with many thanks and great Expressions of kindness accepted.

The Duke, understanding their Preparations, thought fit to draw farther off from the City, supposing that Roberto would not venture to follow him at any distance from the Town; besides, he had some expectation of his Brother Federigo, who was to come to him with fresh Supplies from his Father. Roberto finding himself equal in Horse and superior in Foot, drew his Army out of the Town, and directing towards the Enemy, he encamped within two Miles of him. The Duke finding the Enemy upon his back, quite contrary to his expectation, perceived there was no remedy but he must fight or run away; so that forced and constrained, lest otherwise he should do a thing unworthy of a King's Son, he resolved to fight, turned upon the Enemy, and each of them having put their Army into order according to the Discipline of those Times, they fell to it, and the Battle continued from Morning to Noon, and was fought with more Courage than any in Italy for fifty Years before, there dying on the one side and the other above a thousand Men: the end of which Fight was very honourable for the Church, for their Infantry, being numerous, so galled the Duke's Horse that they were forced to turn tail, and the Duke had been taken had he not been rescued by some Turks which upon the delivery of Otranto took part under him. Roberto having gained so absolute a Victory, returned triumphantly to Rome; but he enjoyed the pleasure of it but little, for in the heat

of the Battle having drunk a great quantity of cold Water, he put himself into a Flux, and died not many days after, his Body being interred by his Holiness with all imaginable Ceremony. The Pope having gained this Victory, he sent the Count towards Castello to try if he could recover it for Lorenzo and what he could do upon Rimino; for after the death of Robert, there being only one Child left in the Tuition of his Lady, he thought it might be no hard matter to get into that Town; and doubtless he had succeeded had not that Lady been assisted by the Florentines, who opposed him so happily that he could do nothing against Rimino nor Castello. Whilst these things were in agitation in Romagna and Rome the Venetians had taken Figarolo and passed the Po with their Army, the Duke of Milan's and the Marquess's Army being in no small disorder upon the death of the Count d' Urbino, who, falling ill, was removed to Bologna, and died there; so that the Marquess's Affairs began to decline, and the Venetians had great hopes of becoming Masters of Ferrara. On the other side, the Florentines and King of Naples used all possible Art to bring the Pope over to their Party; but not being able to do it by force, they threatened him with a Council, which the Emperor had pronounced already should be held at Basel. Whereupon, by persuasion of his Ambassadors at Rome and the chief of the Cardinals (who were very desirous of Peace), the Pope was constrained, and began to hearken to the Peace and Tranquillity of Italy; and for fear the Grandeur of the Venetians should be the ruin of that Country, he became inclinable to the League, and sent his Nuncii to Naples, where a Peace was concluded for five Years betwixt the Pope, King of Naples, and Florentines, reserving a certain Time for the Venetians if they pleased to come in. Which being done, the Pope sent to the Venetians to desist in their War against Ferrara; but the Venetians were so far from complying, they reinforced their Army, and pursued it with more eagerness than before, for having defeated the Duke's Forces and the Marquess's at Argenta, they had advanced in such manner against the City that their Army was encamped in the Marquess's Park. So that the League, thinking it no dallying any longer, resolved to assault them with all the Forces they could make, and accordingly the Duke of Calabria had orders to march thither with their Army. The Florentines likewise sent what Men they could spare; and

for the better Administration of the War, a Diet was appointed to be held at Cremona, where there met the Pope's Legate, Count Girolamo, the Duke of Calabria, the Signore Lodovico, and Lorenzo de' Medici, with many other Princes of Italy, in which Council the method of the future War was debated; and having concluded that Ferrara could not any way be relieved more effectually than by a brisk Diversion, they desired Lodovico's permission to attack the Venetians through the Country of Milan; but Lodovico would not be persuaded, as fearing to pull a War upon his back which he could not be rid off when he pleased. Whereupon it was determined that they should march with their whole Strength for Ferrara; and having mustered 4000 Horse and 8000 Foot, they advanced against the Venetians, who were 2200 Horse and 6000 Foot. But the first thing the League thought fit to attempt was a Fleet which the Venetians had upon the Po, and they assaulted it so smartly that they broke it at Bondino, destroyed 200 of their Vessels, and took Antonio Justiniano (the Proveditor of their Navy) Prisoner.

The Venetians seeing all Italy combined against them, to give themselves greater Reputation, they entertained the Duke of Reno into their Pay with 200 good Horse; and upon News of the defeat of their Fleet they sent him with part of the Army to face the Enemy, whilst Roberto da San Severino passed the Adda with the rest, and approaching to Milan, proclaimed the Duke and Madam Bona his Mother, hoping that Lodovico and his Government had been so odious in that City that the very Name of the other would have begot some Commotion. This Inroad at first produced some kind of terror, but the Conclusion was quite contrary to what the Venetians had designed, for this compelled Lodovico to do what he could not be brought to before; and therefore, leaving the Marquess of Ferrara to the defence of his own Country, with 4000 Horse and 2000 Foot, the Duke of Calabria with 12,000 Horse and 5000 Foot, marched into the Countries of Bergona, Brescia, and Verona, plundering and spoiling all about them before the Venetians could send them any relief, for Roberto and his Army had much ado to secure that City. On the other side, the Marquess of Ferrara had recovered a great part of his Losses, for the Duke of Reno (who was sent to confront him) having but 2000 Horse and 1000 Foot, was not able to oppose him; so that all

that Year, 1483, things went on prosperously for the League. The next Spring (the Winter having passed without any considerable Action) both Armies took the Field. The League, for greater expedition in their designs against the Venetians, had drawn their whole Army together, and (had the War been managed as wisely as the Year before) had easily carried whatever the Venetians were possessed of in Lombardy, for they were reduced to 6000 Horse and 5000 Foot (whilst the Enemy consisted of 13,000 Horse and 6000 Foot), for the Duke of Reno being entertained only for a Year, when his Time was out was retired. But (as it many times happens where many are in equal Authority) dissension among the Grandees gives the Victory to the Enemy; for Federigo Gonzaga, Marquess of Mantoua, being dead (who, whilst he was living, kept the Duke of Calabria and Signore Lodovico in good Correspondence), there grew Exceptions betwixt them and Jealousies by degrees; for Giovan Galeazzo, being of Age, became capable of the Government, and married to the Daughter of the Duke of Calabria, he had a mind his Son-in-Law, and not Lodovico, should exercise the Government. Lodovico smelling his design, resolved if possible to prevent him. This Inclination of Lodovico's being known to the Venetians, they thought it a fair opportunity to gain (as they had done before) by Peace what by War they had lost; and making private Overtures to him, in August 1484 they came to an Agreement, which was no sooner divulged but the other Confederates were highly displeased, especially seeing all they had taken from the Venetians would be restored, the Venetians left in the Possession of Rovigo and Polisine (which they had taken from the Marquess of Ferrara), and invested with all the Prerogatives and Pre-eminences which they had exercised over that City before; for every Man judged they had made a chargeable War, gained some Honour indeed in the prosecution of it; but in the conclusion they had come off with Disgrace, for the Towns which they had taken were restored, but the Towns they had lost were kept by the Enemy. Yet the Confederates were glad to accept the Peace, being weary of the War and unwilling to attempt their Fortune any further with the Defects and Ambition of other People.

Whilst in Lombardy things were managed at this rate, the Pope, by the Mediation of Lorenzo, pressed hard upon the City

of Castello to turn out Nicolo Vitelli, who (to bring over the Pope to their Party) was deserted by the League. Whilst they were intrenched before the Town, those of the Garrison who were Friends to Vitelli sallied out upon the Enemy and beat them from the Siege. Hereupon the Pope recalled Girolamo from Lombardy, caused him to come to Rome to recruit his Army, and then sent him to pursue his designs against Castello; but judging it better, upon second thoughts, to reduce Nicolo by fair means than foul, he made Peace with him and reconciled him, as much as in him lay, to his Adversary Lorenzo; and to this he was constrained more out of apprehension of new Troubles than any desire to Peace, for he saw ill Humours remaining betwixt the Colonnesi and the Orsini.

In the War betwixt the Pope and the King of Naples, the King of Naples had taken from the Orsini the Country of Pagliacozzo and given it to the Colonnesi, who followed his Party. When Peace was afterwards made betwixt the Pope and the King, the Orsini demanded Restitution by virtue of that Treaty. The Pope many times required the Colonnesi to deliver it; but neither the Prayers of the one nor the Threats of the other being able to prevail, they fell upon the Orsini with their old way of Depredation and Plunder. The Pope, not enduring that Insolence, drew all his Forces together, and joining them with the Orsini, they sacked the Houses of all the Colonni in Rome, killed those who resisted, and destroyed most of the Castles which they had in those Parts: so that those Tumults were ended, not by Peace, but by the destruction of one of the Parties.

In the meantime the Affairs in Genoa and Tuscany were in no better condition, for the Florentines kept Antonio da Marciano with his Forces upon the Frontiers of Serezana, and with Excursions and Skirmishes kept the Serezani in perpetual Alarm. In Genoa, Battistino Fregoso, Doge of that City, reposing too much confidence in Paolo Fregoso, the Archbishop, was himself, his Wife, and Children seized by him, and the Archbishop made himself Prince. The Venetian Fleet had at that time assaulted the King of Naples, possessed themselves of Gallipoli, and alarmed all the Towns about it; but upon the Peace in Lombardy all the Differences were composed except those in

Tuscany and Rome; for the Pope died five days after the Peace was proclaimed, either his Time being then come, or else his Indignation at the Peace (against which he was most obstinately averse) having killed him. However, he left all Italy quiet when he died, though whilst he lived he kept it constantly imbroiled. Upon his death Rome was immediately in Arms; Count Girolamo with his Forces retired to the Castle; the Orsini were fearful the Colonni would revenge the Injuries they had so lately received; the Colonni demanded their Houses and Castles to be made good: so that in a few Days Murders, Robberies, and burning of Houses were to be seen in several parts of the City. But the Cardinals having persuaded Girolama to deliver up the Castle into the hands of their College, to retire to his own Government, and free the City from his Forces, hoping thereby to make the next Pope his Friend, he readily obeyed, delivered up the Castle to the College, and drew off his Forces to Imola. So that the Cardinals being rid of that fear, and the Barons of the assistance they expected from Girolamo, they proceeded to the Election of a new Pope, and after some little Disputes they made choice of Giovan Battista Cibo, Cardinal di Malfetta, a Genoese, with the name of Innocent VIII., who, by the easiness of his Nature (being a Man of Peace), prevailed with them to lay down their Arms, and once more made all quiet at Rome.

Notwithstanding this Peace, the Florentines could not be prevailed with to be quiet, it appearing to them dishonourable and insufferable that a private Gentleman should have taken and keep from them the Castle of Sarzana; and because it was an Article in the Peace that not only all that had been lost might be demanded again, but that War might be waged against any that obstructed it, they prepared Men and Money to go on with that Enterprize. Whereupon Agostino Fregoso, who had surprized Sarzana, finding himself unable with his private Forces to sustain such a War, he resigned it to S. George and the Genoesi, it will not be inconvenient to describe the Orders and Methods of that City, which is one of the principal in Italy.

When the Genoesi had made Peace with the Venetians, after the greatest War in which they had ever been engaged, not being able to satisfie certain Citizens who had advanced great

Sums of Money for the Service of the Publick, they made over to them the Profits of the Dogana, appointing that every Man should share of them, according to the proportion of his principal Sum, till his whole Debt should be wrought out; and for their convenience of meeting and better disposing of their Affairs, they consigned the Palace to them which was over the Custom-house. These Creditors erected a kind of Government among themselves, created a Council of one hundred to deliberate and order all publick Matters, and another of eight Citizens to put them in execution. Their Debts were divided into several Parts, which they called Luoghi, and their whole Body was called S. Giorgia. Having established their Government in this manner, new Exigencies arising every day to the Commonwealth, they had recourse to S. Giorgio for Supplies, which being rich and well managed, was able always to relieve them; but the Magistrates and Community of the City (having granted them their Customs before) were forced now, when they borrowed any Money, to make over their Lands to them; and they had done it so frequently that the Necessities of the one and the Supplies of the other had brought things to that pass, that the greatest part of the Towns and Cities under the Jurisdiction of Genoa were fallen into their hands, and they governed and disposed of them as they pleased, chusing Annually their Rettori or Governors by publick Suffrage, without the least interposition or concernment of the Commonwealth. From hence it happened that the Affection of the People was removed from the Government of the Commonwealth (which they looked upon as tyrannical) to the Government of S. Giorgio (which was well and impartially administered), and from hence the easie and often Changes of the State did proceed, which submitted itself sometimes to this Citizen, sometimes to that Stranger, as occasion invited; and the reason was because it was not S. Giorgio but the Magistrates which altered the Government. Therefore, when the Contention was betwixt the Fregosi and Adorni for Sovereignty of the City, because the Controversie was only among the Governors of the Commonwealth, the greatest part of the Citizens withdrew and left the State to him that could catch it, the Office of S. Giorgio concerning itself no farther than to swear the Person advanced to the conservation of their Laws, which have not been altered

to this very Day; for having Arms, and Money, and Conduct, they cannot be subverted without danger of a destructive Rebellion. A rare and incomparable Example, not to be followed in all the visible or imaginary Commonwealths of the Philosophers, to behold in the same Circle, among the same Citizens, Liberty and Tyranny, Civility and Corruption, Justice and Rapine to be exercised at the same time; for that Order alone preserved that City in its ancient and venerable Customs. And had it fallen out (as in time doubtless it will) that the Government of the Commonwealth had fallen to the management of S. Giorgio, no question but before this it would have been greater and more formidable than the Republick of Venice.

To this S. Giorgio, therefore, Agostino Fregosa (not being able to keep it himself) delivered Sarzana. S. Giorgio accepted it readily, undertook to defend it, put out a Fleet immediately to Sea, and sent Forces to Pietra Santa to intercept any that should go to the Florentines, who were already encamped before Sarzana. The Florentines, on the other side, had a Month's mind to Pietra Santa, as a Town which, by reason of its situation betwixt Pisa and that, would make Sarzana inconsiderable though they should take it, and in the meantime interrupt them in their Leaguer, as often as that Garrison should think fit to come forth. To bring this about, the Florentines sent a considerable quantity of Provisions and Ammunition with a small Party to convey them from Pisa to their Camp, supposing that the Garrison of Pietra Santa would be tempted to take them, both from the weakness of the Convoy and the greatness of the Prize; and their Artifice succeeded, for the Garrison could not see such a Booty and suffer it to pass. This was as the Florentines desired, and gave them a just pretence of Hostility; whereupon, rising from Sarzana, they marched to Pietra Santa and encamped before it; which, being well manned, defended itself stoutly. The Florentines having disposed their Artillery in the Plain, they raised a new Battery upon the Mountain, intending likewise to batter it from thence. Giacopo Guicciardini was their Commissary at that time; and whilst they were employed at Pietra Santa in this manner, the Genoa Fleet took and burned the Rocca di Vada, and landing some Men, overran all the Country thereabouts. Against these Forces Bongianni Gianfigliazza was dispatched with

a Party of Horse and Foot, who restrained their extravagance, so as they did not make their Excursions as formerly. However, the Fleet continued to molest the Florentines, and accordingly moved to Ligorn, where, with Bridges and other Military Engines, having got close to the New Tower, they battered it smartly for several Days together; but finding it to no purpose, they went off again with shame. In the meantime the Siege at Pietra Santa went on very slowly, insomuch that the Enemy was encouraged to attempt upon their Battery, and sallying out when they saw their advantage, they carried it, much to their own Reputation, and to the discouragement of their Enemy, who immediately drew off to about four Miles' distance; and the Officers considering it was October and the Winter far on, were of opinion to put their Army into their Quarters and reserve the prosecution of their Siege till a better Season.

These Disorders being known at Florence, filled all the chief Officers with great Indignation; upon which, to recruit their Camp and recover their Reputation, they elected Antonio Pucci and Bernardo del Nero for their new Commissaries; who being sent with a considerable Supply of Money to the Camp, remonstrated to the chief Officers the displeasure of the Senate, the State, and the whole City, their Commands to return their Leaguer with the Army, the Scandal and Infamy it would be if so many great Officers, with so great an Army, having nothing to oppose them but a pitiful Garrison, should not be able to carry so weak and so contemptible a Town. They represented, likewise, the present and future Advantage which they might expect if it were taken; so that they were all encouraged to return, and the first thing to be attacked they resolved should be the Bastion, out of which they had been forced: in which Action it was manifest what Courtesie, Affability, kind Usage, and good words could produce in the Soldiers; for Antonio Pucci persuading this, promising that, assisting a third with his Hand, and embracing the fourth, incited them to the Assault with such fury that they regained the Bastion in a moment; but they did not take it without Loss, for the Count Antonio da Marciano was slain from one of their great Guns. This Success brought such a terror upon the Garrison that they began to think of surrendering. That things ght be transacted with greater Reputation, Lorenzo de' Medici

thought good to repair in Person to the Camp, where he was no sooner arrived but in a few Days the Castle surrendered. Winter being come, it did not appear to those Officers convenient to prosecute the War, but to attend better weather; for the Season of the Year, by the malignity of the Air, had infected the Army extreamly, for many of the chief Officers were sick; and among the rest, Antonio Pucci and Bongianni Gianfigliazza were not only sick, but died, to the great regret of all People, so much Honour and Estimation had Antonio acquired by his Conduct at Pietra Santa.

The Florentine had no sooner taken and settled themselves in Pietra Santa but Ambassadors came to them from the Lucchesi to demand it, as an Appendix to their Commonwealth; alledging that among the rest there was an express Article, that whatever should be taken either of the one side or the other should be restored to the first Owners. The Florentines did not deny the Agreement, but answered that they could not tell whether in the Peace they were then negotiating with the Genoeses they might not be obliged to restore it, and therefore they could give them no positive Resolution till that was determined; and if it should happen that they should not be obliged, it would be necessary for the Siennesi to think of some way to satisfie for the Expence they had been at, and the Damage they had received by the loss of so many considerable Citizens, and when they did so, they might be confident they should have it. This whole Winter was consumed in Negotiations of Peace betwixt the Florentines and the Genoesi, which were transacted at Rome by the Mediation of the Pope; but nothing being concluded, the Florentines would have fallen upon Sarzana in the Spring, had they not been prevented by Lorenzo's Indisposition and a new War betwixt Ferrando and the Pope. For Lorenzo was not only troubled with the Gout (which was his hereditary Disease), but he had so great Pains and Affliction at his Stomach that he was forced to go to the Baths to be cured. But the chiefest occasion was the War, which was originally from hence. The City of Aquila was subject to the Kingdom of Naples, but so as in a manner it was free. In that City the Count de Mortorio was a Man of more than ordinary Reputation. The Duke of Calabria lying with his Horse not far from Tronto, pretending a desire to compose certain Tumults

which had happened betwixt the Peasants in those Parts (but being really ambitious to reduce that City to a more entire subjection to his Father), sent to the Count to let him know he desired to speak with him and take his Advice in the regulation of those Affairs. The Count, not having the least Jealousie, repaired to him immediately, but he was seized as soon as he arrived, and sent Prisoner to Naples.

This Accident being known in Aquila, altered the Affections of the whole City, insomuch that the People taking Arms, Antonio Concinello (the King's Commissary) was slain, and with him such of the Citizens as were known to be affected to the Neapolitan Interest; and that they might have Friends to defend them in their Rebellion, they set up the Banner of the Church and sent Ambassadors to the Pope, to tender him the Possession of their City and implore his Protection against the Tyranny of the King. The Pope was easily persuaded to their Defence, as a Person that hated the King, both upon publick and private Accounts; whereupon being informed that Roberto da San Severino (a great Enemy to the State of Milan) was out of employment, he sent for him to Rome with all speed, made him his General, and solicited all the Friends and Relations of the Count de Mortorio to rise in his behalf; so that the Princes of Altemura, Salerno, and Besignana took up Arms against the King. The King seeing himself engaged so unexpectedly in a War, sent to the Florentines and Duke of Milan for their Aid. The Florentines were very irresolute what was to be done; they thought it unreasonable to leave their own Designs for the promotion of other People's; besides that, the taking up Arms again so suddenly against the Church must needs be very dangerous. Nevertheless, being in League and under an Obligation, they preferred their Faith before either Interest or Danger, took the Orsini into their Pay, and sent their whole Force (under the Count de Pitigliano) towards Rome in assistance of the King. By this means the King had two Camps; that under the Duke of Calabria he sent towards Rome, in conjunction with the Florentines, to attend the Motion of the Army of the Church; the other he kept at home to secure his own Country against any Commotion by the Barons, and in both Places things occurred with variety of success; but at length the King remaining in all Places superior, by the Mediation of Am-

bassadors from Spain, in August 1486 a Peace was concluded, to which the Pope (being depressed and discouraged with his ill Fortune) consented, and all the Princes of Italy with him; only the Genoesi were excepted as Rebels to the State of Milan and Usurpers upon the Territories of Florence. The Peace being concluded, Roberto da San Severino, having been neither faithful to the Pope nor terrible to the Enemy, was turned out of Rome in disgrace, and being pursued by the Forces of the Florentines and the Duke, when he was past Cesenna, finding they gained upon him and would be presently upon his Back, he betook himself to his Heels, and with about 100 Horse fled away to Ravenna, leaving the rest of his Party either to be entertained by the Duke or destroyed by the Country. The King having signed the Peace and reconciled himself with his Barons, he caused Giovanni Coppola and Antonello d'Anversa and their Sons to be put to Death, as Persons who had betrayed his Secrets to the Pope in the time of the War.

By the experiment of this War the Pope having observed with what diligence and alacrity the Florentines preserve their Alliance, though he hated them before for their Affection to the Genoesi and their Assistance to the King, he began now to caress them, and show greater favour to their Ambassadors than formerly he had done: which Inclination being intimated to Lorenzo, he improved it with all possible Industry, as knowing it would gain him great Reputation if to his Friendship with the King he could add the Amity of the Pope. This Pope had a Son called Francesco, and being desirous to advance him both in Fortune and Friends (which when he was dead might support him), he could not find a Person in all Italy with whom he might more safely ally him than with Lorenzo de Medici, and therefore he ordered things so that he married him to a Daughter of Lorenzo's. This Alliance being finished, his Holiness had a desire that the Genoesi, by Agreement, should deliver up Sarzana to the Florentines, and declared to them that they could not in justice retain what Agostino had sold them; nor could Agostino convey that to S. Giorgio which was none of his own; but with all his Arguments he could never prevail. So that whilst these things were in agitation in Rome, the Genoesi went on with their Preparations, and rigging out many of their Ships, before they could have any news of it at

Florence, they landed 3000 Men and assaulted the Castle of Sarzanello, which stands upon the Sarzana, and was Garrisoned by the Florentines; and having sacked and burned the Town (which lies on one side of it), they advanced against the Castle, and having planted their Guns, they battered it exceedingly. This Attack was new and unexpected to the Florentines, insomuch that they drew what Force they were able together, under the Command of Orginio Orsini, at Pisa, and made their Complaints to the Pope that whilst he was in Treaty with them for Peace the Genoese had invaded them; after which they sent Piero Corsini to Lucca, to preserve that City in its Allegiance. They sent likewise Pagocantonio Soderini, their Ambassador, to Venice, to try the Minds of that Commonwealth. They desired Aid likewise of the King of Naples and Signore Lodovico, but neither of them supplied them, the King pretending apprehension of the Turkish Fleet, and Lodovico with other Shifts delayed to relieve them; so that the Florentines (as they usually are) were left alone in their Necessity, finding nobody so well disposed to assist them as they were to assist other People. Nevertheless (being not strange to them) they were not at all discouraged, but raising a great Army under the Command of Giacopo Guicciardini and Pietro Vettori, they sent them against the Enemy, who had lodged himself upon the River Magra. In the meantime Sarzanello was closely besieged, and what with Mines and Batteries, brought to great danger of being taken. Whereupon a Council being called, it was resolved to leave it, and the Enemy not at all declining, they came to an Engagement, in which the Genoesi were defeated, and Ludovico del Fiesco and several of their principal Officers taken Prisoners. Yet this Victory could not incline the Sarzanesi to surrender, they rather prepared more obstinately for their defence; and the Florentine Commissaries being as diligent on their side, it was courageously both assaulted and defended. This Leaguer proving longer than was expected, Lorenzo de Medici thought it expedient to go himself to the Camp, where his arrival animated his own Soldiers and discouraged the Adversary; for upon observation of the Vigour of the Florentines, and the coldness of their Supplies from Genoa, freely, without any Capitulation, they threw themselves into the Arms of Lorenzo, and (except some few who were more eminently active

in the Rebellion) they were all courteously treated by the Florentines. During this Siege Signore Lodovico had sent his Horse to Pontremoli, in appearance in our favour; but holding a Correspondence in Genoa, a Party mutinied against the Government. and by the help of those Forces secured the Town for the Duke of Milan. About this time the Germans made War upon the Venetians, and Boccelino d' Osimo Nella Marca had caused Osimo to revolt from the Pope, and made himself Lord of it. This Boccelino, after many Accidents, was contented (upon the Persuasion of Lorenzo de' Medici) to deliver up that Town again to the Pope, which he did, and coming to Florence, he lived there (under Lorenzo's Protection) very honourable a considerable time; but afterwards removing to Milan, and not finding the same Faith as he had done at Florence, he was put to death by Lodovico's Command. The Venetians being set upon by the Germans near the City of Tronto, were utterly defeated, and Signore Roberto da San Severino, their General, was slain. After the loss of this Victory, according to their usual Fortune, the Venetians made a Peace with the Germans, but upon terms as exceedingly honourable as if they had been the Conquerors.

About the same time great Troubles arose likewise in Romagna. Francesco d'Orso of Forli was a Man of great Authority in that City, and falling under the Suspicion of the Count Girolamo, he was many times threatened by him; so that Francesco, living in perpetual fear, he was advised by his Friends and Relations to be beforehand with the Count; and seeing his intention was manifestly to take away his Life, he should strike the first blow and make sure of the Count, and so by the death of another Person secure himself. This Counsel being given, and as resolutely undertaken, they appointed the time to be at the Fair at Forli; for several of their Friends in the Country coming to the Town on course that Day, they thought they should have enough of them present, without the danger of inviting them. It was in the Month of May, in which the greatest part of the Italians have a custom of Supping by Daylight. The Conspirators thought the best time to kill him would be after he had supped, when the Servants were gone down to their own, and left him as it were alone in his Chamber. Having agreed upon the time, Francesco went to the Count's Palace, and having left his Accomplices below, and told one of

his Servants that he desired to speak with the Count, he was admitted, and finding him alone, after some previous and pretended Discourse, he took his opportunity and killed him; then calling up his Companions, the Servant was slain likewise; and then the Captain of the Castle coming in by accident with some few in his Company to speak with the Count, they fell upon him and murdered him with the rest. Having finished their Work, and raised a great Hubbub in the House, the Count's Body was thrown out of the Window, a great Cry made of Liberty and the Church, and the People exhorted to Arm; who abominating the Cruelty and the Avarice of the Count, fell upon his Houses, plundered them, and made the Countess Catherina (his Lady) and her Family prisoners: and this was done with so little Opposition, that there was nothing but the Castle which hindered the accomplishment of their Designs; but that Captain being obstinate, and not to be wrought upon by them to surrender, they desired the Countess to try if she could persuade him, which she promised to endeavour, if they would let her go to him into the Castle, and as Hostage for her Fidelity she would leave them her Children. The Conspirators believed her, and gave her leave to go to him; but she was no sooner in the Castle but she began to swagger and threaten them with Death, in revenge of her Husband's; and when they told her they would kill all her Children, she bid them do their worst, for she knew how to have more. The Conspirators were not a little dismayed at this Accident; they saw the Pope sent them no Succours, and hearing that Ludovico, the Countess's Uncle, was sending forces to her Relief, they packed up what they could, and away they went to Castello; so that the Countess being restored, she revenged the Death of her Husband with all possible Cruelty. The Florentines had News of what happened to the Count, and immediately took occasion to attempt the Castle of Piancaldoli, which had been formerly taken from them by the said Count; and accordingly sending their Forces thither, they retook it, but with the death of Ciecco, a most excellent Architect.

About the same time that this Tumult happened in the City, another of no less importance fell out in the Country of Romagna. Galeotto, Lord of Faenza, was married to the Daughter of Giovanni Bentivoglio, Prince of Bologna. This Lady being jealous, or upon

some other ill Usage from her Husband, or else ill-natured of herself, had her Husband in such contempt, that she contrived to take away both his Authority and Life; and one Day, counterfeiting herself sick, she laid herself upon the Bed, and having hid some of her Comrades in her Chamber, she ordered when Galleotto came to visit her, they should rush upon him and kill him. This Lady had communicated her design to her Father, who was well enough contented, hoping when his Son-in-Law was dead he might set up for himself. The time agreed upon for the Execution being come, Galeotto (as he was accustomed) came to see his Wife, and having discoursed with her awhile, the Conspirators rushed forth and killed him before he could make any defence. Upon his death a great Tumult was raised, and the Lady, with one of her little Children called Astorre, was forced to betake herself to the Castle. The People took Arms. Giovan Bentivoglio (with a Bergamese who had been an Officer under the Duke of Milan) having got some Forces together, marched into Faenza, where Antonio Boscoli, the Commissary of Florence, was resident at that time, and having assembled all the chief of that Party, they were in great Argument about the Government of the Town. When the Inhabitants of the Val di Lamona had taken the Alarm, and being got together in a throng, they fell upon Giovanni and the Bergamese, they cut one of them to pieces, and took the other Prisoner, and calling out upon Astorre and the Florentines, they delivered the City to the Conduct of the Commissary. This Accident being known in Florence, was highly displeasing to everybody; nevertheless, they caused Giovanni and his Daughter to be set at liberty, and took upon themselves the care of Astorre and the City, by universal consent of the whole People.

After the Wars betwixt the greater Princes were composed, besides these there happened many Tumults in Romagna, La Marca, and Siena, which being of no great moment, I think it superfluous to recount them. True it is, Troubles in Siena (after the end of the War, and the Duke of Calabria's leaving those Parts in the Year 1488) were more frequent than elsewhere, and after several Variations (sometimes the People, sometimes the Nobility having the predominance) at length the Nobility prevailed, and of them the Persons of greatest Authority were Pandolfo and Giacopo Petrucci, who, one of them for his Conduct, and

the other for his Courage, were made as it were Princes of that City; but the Florentines, from the end of the War against Sarzana to the Year 1492 (in which Lorenzo died) lived in great Felicity.

For Lorenzo having by his great interest and prudence procured Peace all over Italy, he applied himself to enlarging the Grandeur of the City and of his own Family; and first he married his eldest Son Picro to Alfonsina, the Daughter of Cavaliere Orsimo. His second Son, Giovanni, he advanced to be a Cardinal, which having no precedent, was the more remarkable, for he was but thirteen Years old at the time of his Promotion. For his third Son, Giuliano (who was very young) he could make no extraordinary provision, because he lived not long after; but his Daughters were disposed of very well: one of them was married to Giacopo Salvati; another to Francesco Cibo; a third to Piero Ridolfi; the fourth (which he had married to Giovanni de' Medici to keep his Family united) died. In his private Affairs, especially in Merchandizing, he was very unfortunate; for by reason of the exorbitance of his Officers (who all of them lived like Princes) much of his Fortune was wasted and squandered, insomuch that he was constrained to be beholding to the State for great Sums of Money. That he might be no longer liable to the malignity of Fortune, he left his trading and fell a-purchasing Land, as a surer and more durable way. In the Countries of Prato, Pisa, and the Vale he bought such Possessions as, for the Revenue and magnificence of the Houses, were fitter for a King than a private Person. After this he beautified and enlarged the City; and because there were many places uninhabited, he appointed new Streets and caused new Houses to be erected to fill them; which was not only an Augmentation, but a great Ornament to the City. That he might live quietly at home, and in time of War keep his Enemies at a distance, he fortified the Castle of Firezuolo, which stands towards Bologna in the middle of the Alps. Towards Siena, he began to repair Poggio Imperial and make it very strong; towards Genoa, he secured that passage by the Reducation of Pietra Santa and Sarzana; with good Stipends and Pensions he conformed his Friends, the Baglioni in Perugia, the Vitelli in the City of Castello; in Faenza he had a particular Government, all which were as so many Bulwarks to keep the Enemy from Florence. In times of Peace he caressed the City

with Feasting, and Plays, and Tournaments, and Representations of ancient Triumphs, to delight and entertain the People, his only design being to see them pleased, the City supplied, and the Nobles respected. He was a great lover of Artists and favourer of Learned Men, of which Agnolo Politiano, Christofano Landino, and Demetrius Chalcondylas can give ample Testimony. The Count Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (a Person almost deified for his Literature) left all the other Parts of Europe which he had travelled and (moved by Lorenzo's Magnificence) fixed his residence at Florence. In Architecture, Musick, and Poesy he delighted exceedingly. Many Poetical Compositions, with several of his Comments upon them, are still to be seen. And that the Florentine Youth might be encouraged to study, he erected an University in Pisa, and hired the best Scholars in Italy to read to them; he built a Monastery not far from Florence on purpose for Friar Mariano da Chinazano, an Augustine Monk, and one which he esteemed an excellent Preacher. He was greatly beloved both of God and Fortune, for all his designs came to a good end, and all his Enemies miscarried; for besides the Pazzi, he was set upon to have been killed by Battista Frescobaldi in the Carmine, and by Baldinotto da Pistoia at his Country House; but both of them failed, and were justly punished, with all their Confederates. The excellence of his Conversation, the eminence of his Wisdom, and the happiness of his Fortune made him honourable not only in Italy, but in all the Courts of the World. Mathias King of Hungary gave many Testimonies of his Affection; the Soldan, by his Ambassadors and Presents, visited and presented him; the great Turk delivered Bernardo Bandini into his hands, who had murdered his Brother Giulian; all which rendered him highly venerable in Italy, and he added to his Reputation every day by his Prudence. In his Discourse he was eloquent and facetious, in his Resolutions wise, in his Executions quick and courageous; nor can anything be objected sufficient to eclipse these Virtues, though he was indeed addicted to Women, took too much pleasure in the Company of witty and satirical Men, and would play at Boys' Play sometimes beneath the Dignity of his Office; for he would play many times with his Children at all the most idle and Childish Recreations they would put him to. So that if the Gravity of his Life be considered with

its Levity, he will seem to be composed of two several Persons, united by an almost impossible Conjunction.

The last part of his Days was full of Sorrow and Disquiet, occasioned by the Distempers of his Body; for he was sorely afflicted with intolerable Pains at his Stomach, which brought him so low that in April 1492 he died, in the forty-third Year of his Age. Never was there any Man, not only in Florence, but Italy, who departed with more Reputation for his Wisdom, nor more Lamentation to his Country; and because upon his Death many Desolations were like to ensue, the Heavens themselves did seem to presage it. The Spire of the Church of S. Riparata was struck with Thunder with such fury that a great part of the Steeple was destroyed by it, to the great consternation of the City. All the Inhabitants of Florence and the Princes of Italy bewailed him, which was particularly manifested by their several Compliments of Condolency, and whether they had reason or not for what they did, the Effects which succeeded a while after did clearly demonstrate; for being deprived of his Counsels, Italy could not find any one remaining able to satiate or restrain the Ambition of Lodovico Duke of Milan, for want of which, after his death, such Seeds of Dissension brake forth as have perplexed and embroiled all Italy ever since.

APPENDIX.

NICHOLAS MACHIAVELLI'S

LETTER

TO

ZANOBIO BUONDELMONTI,

IN

VINDICATION OF HIMSELF AND HIS WRITINGS.

THE Discourse we had lately, dear Zanobio, in the delightful Gardens of our old deceased Friend Cosimo Rucellai, and the pressing importunity of Giulio Salviati, that I would use some means to wipe off the many aspersions cast upon my Writings, gives you the present trouble of reading this Letter, and me the pleasure of writing it; which last would be infinitely greater if I were not at this day too old and too inconsiderable, and by the change of our Government wholly incapable of performing, either with my brain or my hand, any further service to my Country. For it hath ever been my opinion, that whosoever goes about to make men publickly acquainted with his actions, or apologize to the world for imputations laid upon him, cannot be excused from vanity and impertinence, except his parts and opportunities be such as may enable him to be instrumental for the good of others, and that he cannot achieve that excellent end without justifying himself from having any indirect and base ones, and procuring trust from men by clearing the repute of his justice and integrity to them. But although this be far from my case, yet I have yielded, you see, to the entreaty of Giulio and the rest of the Company, not only because I am sufficiently (both by the

restraint of our Press and the discretion of the person I write to) assured that this Letter will never be made publick, but that I esteem it a Duty to clear that excellent Society from the Scandal of having so dangerous and pernicious a person to be a member of their Conversation. For by reason of my Age, and since the loss of our Liberty, and my sufferings under that Monster of lust and cruelty, Alexander de' Medici, set over us by the Divine vengeance for our sins, I can be capable of no other design or enjoyment than to delight and be delighted in the company of so many choice and virtuous persons, who now assemble themselves with all security under the happy and hopeful Reign of our new Prince, Cosimo. And we may say, that though our Commonwealth be not restored, our slavery is at an end, and that he coming in by our own choice, may prove (if I have as good Skill in Prophesying as I have had formerly) Ancestor to many renowned Princes who will govern this State in great quietness and with great clemency; so that our Prosperity is like to enjoy ease and security, though not that greatness, wealth, and glory by which our City hath for some years past, even in the most factious and tumultuous times of our Democracy, given Law to Italy and bridled the ambition of foreign Princes. But, that I may avoid the Loquacity incident to old men, I will come to the business. If I remember well, the exceptions that are taken to these poor things I have published are reducible to three:—

First, That in all my Writings I insinuate my great affection to the Democratical Government even so much as to undervalue that of Monarchy in respect of it; which last I do, not obscurely, in many passages teach, and as it were persuade, the People to throw off.

Next, That in some places I vent very great impieties, slighting and vilifying the Church as Author of all the misgovernment in the World, and by such contempt make way for Atheism and Profaneness.

And Lastly, That in my Book of "the Prince" I teach Monarchs all the execrable Villanies that can be invented, and instruct them how to break faith, and to oppress and enslave their Subjects.

I shall answer something to every one of these, and that I may observe a right method, will begin with the first.

Having lived in an Age when our poor Country and Government have suffered more changes and revolutions than ever did perhaps befall any people in so short a time, and having had, till the taking of Florence, my share in the managing of affairs during almost all these alterations, sometimes in the quality of Secretary of our City, and sometimes employed in Embassages abroad, I set myself to read the Histories of Ancient and Modern times, that I might by that means find out whether there had not been in all Ages the like vicissitudes and accidents in State affairs, and to search out the causes of them. Having in some sort satisfied myself therein, I could not abstain from scribbling something of the two chief kinds of Government, Monarchy and Democracy, of which all other forms are but mixtures; and since neither my Parts nor Learning could arrive to follow the steps of the Ancients, by writing according to Method and Art, as Plato, Aristotle, and many others have done upon this Subject, I did content myself to make slight observations upon both, by giving a bare Character of a Prince, as to the Monarchical frame; and as to the popular, chusing the perfectest and most successful of all Governments of that kind upon earth. And in my Discourses upon it,—following the order of my Author, without ever taking upon me to argue problematically, much less to decide which of these two Governments is the best,—if from any way of handling matters in my discourses upon Livy, and from those incomparable virtues and great Actions we read of in that History, and from the observations I make, men will conclude (which is, I must confess, my opinion) that the excellency of those Counsels and Achievements, and the improvement which Mankind, and, as I may so say, human nature itself obtained amongst the Romans, did proceed naturally from their Government, and was but a plain effect and consequence of the perfection of their Commonwealth; I say, if Readers will thus judge, how can I in reason be accused for that? It would become those who lay this blame upon me to undeceive those whom my Papers have misled, and to show the world to what other causes we may impute those admirable effects, those Heroick qualities and performances, that integrity and purity of manners, that scorning of riches and life itself, when the publick was concerned. If they please to do this they will oblige my Readers, who will owe to such the rectifying their Judgments, and not at all offend me,

who have reasoned this matter impartially and without passion, nor have positively affirmed anything. But what if this part of my accusation had been true? Why should I be condemned of Heresie or indiscretion for preferring a Commonwealth before a Monarchy? Was I not born, bred, and employed in a City which, being at the time I writ under that form of Government, did owe all wealth and greatness, and all prosperity, to it? If I had not very designedly avoided all dogmaticalness in my observations (being not willing to imitate young Scholars in their Declamations), I might easily have concluded from the premises I lay down that a Democracy founded upon good orders is the best and most excellent Government, and this without the least fear of confutation. For I firmly believe that there are none but Flatterers and Sophisters would oppose me, such as will wrest Aristotle, and even Plato himself, to make them write for Monarchy, by misapplying some loose passages in those great Authors; nay, they will tell their Reader that what is most like the Government of the world by God is the best, which wholly depends upon His absolute power. To make this comparison run with four feet, these Sycophants must give the poor Prince they intend to deifie a better and superior Nature to humanity, must create a necessary dependence of all Creatures upon him, must endow him with Infinite Wisdom and Goodness, and even with Omnipotency itself. It will be hard for any man to be misled in this Argument by proofs wrested from Theology, since whosoever reads attentively the Historical part of the Old Testament shall find that God Himself never made but one Government for men, that this Government was a Commonwealth (wherein the Sanhedrim or Senate, and the Congregation or popular Assembly, had their share), and that He manifested His high displeasure when the rebellious would turn it into a Monarchy. But that I may not strike upon the rock I profess to shun, I shall pass to that which is indeed fit to be wiped off, and which, if it were true, would not only expose me to the hatred and vengeance of God and all good men, but even destroy the design and purpose of my Writings, which is to treat in some sort (as well as one of my small parts can hope to do) of the Politicks; and how can any man pretend to write concerning Policy who destroys the most essential part of it, which is obedience to all Governments? It will be very easie

then for Giulio Salviati, or any other member of our Society, to believe the Protestation I make, that the animating of private men either directly or indirectly to disobey, much less to shake off, any Government, how despotical soever, was never in my Thoughts or Writings; those who are unwilling to give credit to this may take the pains to assign in any of my Books the passages they imagine to tend that way (for I think of none myself), that so I may give such persons more particular satisfaction. I must confess I have a Discourse in one of my Books to encourage the Italian Nation to assume their ancient valour, and to expel the Barbarians, meaning (as the ancient Romans used the word) all Strangers from amongst us; but that was before the Kings of Spain had quiet possession of the Kingdom of Naples, or the Emperor of the Duchy of Milan; so that I could not be interpreted to mean that the people of those two Dominions should be stirred up to shake off their Princes because they were Foreigners, since at that time Lodovico Sforza was in the possession of the one and King Frederick restored to the other, both Natives of Italy. But my design was to exhort our Countrymen not to suffer this Province to be the Scene of the Arms and ambition of Charles the Eighth, or King Louis, his Successor, who, when they had a mind to renew the old Title of the House of Anjou to the Kingdom of Naples, came with such force into Italy that not only our goods were plundered and our Lands wasted, but even the liberty of our Cities and Government endangered; but to unite and oppose them, and to keep this Province in the hands of Princes of our own Nation. This my intention is so visible in the Chapter itself that I need but refer you to it. Yet that I may not answer this imputation barely by denying, I shall assert in this place what my principles are, and that which the world calls Rebellion, which I believe to be not only rising in Arms against any Government we live under, but I acknowledge that word to extend to all clandestine Conspiracies too, by which the peace and quiet of any Country may be interrupted, and by consequence the Lives and Estates of innocent persons endangered. Rebellion then, so described, I hold to be the greatest crime that can be committed amongst men, both against Policy, Morality, and *in foro Conscientiæ;* but notwithstanding all this, it is an offence which will be committed while the world lasts, as often as Princes tyrannize,

and by enslaving and oppressing their Subjects make Magistracy, which was intended for the benefit of Mankind, prove a Plague and Destruction to it. For let the terrour and guilt be never so great, it is impossible that human Nature, which consists of passion as well as virtue, can support with patience and submission the greatest cruelty and injustice whenever either the weakness of their Princes, the unanimity of the people, or any other favourable accident shall give them reasonable hopes to mend their condition and provide better for their own interest by insurrection. So that Princes and States ought in the conduct of their affairs, not only to consider what their people are bound to submit to, if they were inspired from Heaven or were all Moral Philosophers, but to weigh likewise what is probable *de facto* to fall out in this corrupt age of the world, and to reflect upon those dangerous Tumults which have happened frequently, not only upon Oppression, but even by reason of Malversation, and how some Monarchies have been wholly subverted and changed into Democracies by the Tyranny of their Princes; as we see (to say nothing of Rome) the powerful Cantons of Switzerland, brought by that means, a little before the last age, to a considerable Commonwealth, courted and sought to by all the Potentates in Christendom. If Princes will seriously consider this matter, I make no question but they will Rule with Clemency and Moderation, and return to that excellent Maxim of the Ancients (almost exploded in this Age), that the interest of Kings and their People are the same; which truth it hath been the whole design of my Writings to convince them of.

Now, having gone thus far in the Description of Rebellion, I think myself obliged to tell you what I conceive not to be Rebellion. Whosoever then takes up Arms to maintain the Politick Constitution or Government of his Country, in the condition it then is, I mean, to defend it from being changed or invaded by the Craft or Force of any Man (although it be the Prince or Chief Magistrate himself), provided that such taking up of Arms be Commanded or Authorised by those who are, by the Orders of that Government, legally entrusted with the Custody of the Liberty of the People and Foundation of the Government; this I hold to be so far from Rebellion, that I believe it laudable, nay, the Duty of every Member of such Commonwealth. For that he

who fights to Support and Defend the Government he was born and lives under cannot deserve the odious name of Rebel, but he who endeavours to destroy it. If this be not granted, it will be in vain to frame any mixed Monarchies in the World; yet such is at this day the happy Form under which almost all Europe lives, as the People of France, Spain, Germany, Poland, Swedeland, Denmark, &c., wherein the Prince hath his share, and the People theirs; which last, if they had no means of recovering their Rights, when taken from them, or defending them when invaded, would be in the same Estate as if they had no Title to them, but lived under the Empire of Turkey or of Muscovy. And since they have no other Remedy but by Arms, and since it would be of ill Consequence to make every private man judge when the Rights of the People (to which they have as lawful a Claim as the Prince to his) are invaded, which would be apt to produce frequent and sometimes causeless Tumults; therefore it hath been the great Wisdom of the Founders of such Monarchies to appoint Guardians to their Liberty. Their power, if it be not otherwise expressed, ought to be understood to reside in the Estates of the Country, which for that reason (as also to exercise their share in the Sovereignty, by making Laws, Levying Money, &c.) are frequently to be assembled in all those Regions in Europe before mentioned. These are to assert and maintain the Orders of the Government and the Laws established, and, if it cannot be done otherwise, to arm the People to defend them, and repel the Force that is upon them. Nay, the Government of Arragon goes further, and because in the Intervals of the Estates or Courts many Accidents may intervene to the prejudice of their Rights or Fueros, as they call them, they have, during the intermission, appointed a Magistrate, called El Justicia, who is, by the Law and Constitution of that Kingdom, to assemble the whole People to his Banner whenever such Rights are encroached upon; who are not only justified by the Laws for such coming together, but are severely punishable in case of refusal. So that there is no question but that if the Kings of Arragon, at this day very powerful, by the addition of the Kingdoms of Naples and of Sicily, and the Union with Castile, should in time to come invade their Kingdom of Arragon with the Forces of their New Dominions, and endeavour to take from them the Rights and Pleasures they enjoy

lawfully by their Constitution, there is no question, I say, but they may (though their King be there in person against them) assemble under their Justicia and defend their Liberties with as much Justice as if they were invaded by the French or by the Turk. For it were absurd to think, since the People may be legally assembled to apprehend Banditti Robbers, nay, to deliver a Possession forcibly detained against the Sentence of some inferior Court, that they ought not to bestir themselves to keep in being and preserve that Government which maintains them in possession of their Liberty and Property, and defends their Lives too from being arbitrarily taken away. But I know this clear Truth receives opposition in this unreasonable and corrupt Age, when Men are more prone to flatter the Lusts of Princes than formerly, and the Favourites are more impatient to bear the Impartiality of Laws than the Sons of Brutus were, who complained, *Leges esse Surdas;* that is, though they were Gentlemen, in favour with the Ladies, and Ministers of the King's Pleasures, yet they could not Oppress, Drink, Whore, nor Kill the Sbirri, Officers of Justice, in the Streets, returning from their Night-Revels, but the Execution of the Laws would reach them, as well as others, who in the times of Tarquin, it seems, found the Prince more exorable. Nay, the very Divines themselves help with their Fallacies to oppugn this Doctrine, by making us believe, as I said before, it is God's Will all Princes should be absolute, and are so far in a Conspiracy against Mankind, that they assert that in the Text (*This shall the manner of your King be*) God was giving that People the *Jus Divinum* of Government, when in truth He was threatening them with the Plagues of Monarchy. But I spare the Divines here, since I shall have occasion, in discoursing of my next Accusation, to show how that sort of People have dealt with God's Truth and with the Interests of Men; and to be as good as my word, I shall now at once fall upon that Point, having been so tedious already in the former.

I am charged then, in the second place, with impiety, in vilifying the Church, and so making way for Atheism. I do not deny but that I have very frequently in my Writings laid the blame upon the Church of Rome, not only for all the misgovernment of Christendom, but even for the depravation and almost total destruction of Christian Religion itself in this Province. But

that this Discourse of mine doth, or can, tend to teach men impiety, or to make way for Atheism, I peremptorily deny. And although for proof of my innocence herein I need but refer you and all others to my Papers themselves, as they are now published (where you will find all my reasons drawn from experience, and frequent examples cited, which is ever my way of arguing), yet since I am put upon it, I shall in a few lines make that matter possibly a little clearer. I shall first make protestation, that as I do undoubtedly hope, by the merits of Christ, and by faith in Him, to attain Eternal Salvation, so I do firmly believe the Christian profession to be the only true Religion now in the world. Next, I am fully persuaded that all Divine verities, which God then designed to teach the world, are contained in the Books of Holy Scripture, as they are now extant and received amongst us. From them I understand that God created man in purity and innocence, and that the first of that Species, by their frailty, lost at once their integrity and their Paradise, and entailed sin and misery upon their posterity; that Almighty God, to repair this loss, did, out of His infinite mercy, and with unparalleled grace and goodness, send His only-begotten Son into the world to teach us new truths; to be a perfect example of virtue, goodness, and obedience; to restore true Religion, degenerated amongst the Jews into Superstition, Formality, and Hypocrisie; to die for the Salvation of Mankind; and in fine, to give to us the Holy Spirit, to regenerate our Hearts, support our Faith, and lead us into all Truth. Now if it shall appear that as the lusts of our first Parents did at that time disappoint the good intention of God in making a pure world, and brought in by their disobedience the corruptions that are now in it; so since that likewise the Bishops of Rome, by their insatiable ambition and avarice, have designedly, as much as in them lies, frustrated the merciful purpose He had, in the happy restauration He intended the world by His Son, and in the renewing and reforming of human Nature, and have wholly defaced and spoiled Christian Religion, and made it a worldly and a Heathenish thing, and altogether incapable, as it is practised amongst them, either of directing the ways of its Professors to virtue and good life, or of saving their Souls hereafter: if, I say, this do appear, I know no reason why I, for detecting thus much, and for giving warning to the world to take heed of their

ways, should be accused of Impiety or Atheism, or why his Holiness should be so enraged against the poor Inhabitants of the Valleys in Savoy and against the Albigenses for calling him Antichrist. But to find that this is an undoubted truth, I mean that the Popes have corrupted Christian Religion, we need but read the New Testament (acknowledged by themselves to be of infallible truth), and there we shall see that the Faith and Religion preached by Christ, and settled afterwards by His Apostles and cultivated by their Sacred Epistles, is so different a thing from the Christianity that is now professed and taught at Rome, that we should be convinced that if those Holy men should be sent by God again into the world, they would take more pains to confute this Gallimaufry than ever they did to preach down the Tradition of the Pharisees or the Fables and Idolatry of the Gentiles, and would in all probability suffer a new Martyrdom in that City under the Vicar of Christ, for the same Doctrine which once animated the Heathen Tyrants against them. Nay, we have something more to say against these Sacrilegious Pretenders to God's power; for whereas all other false worships have been set up by some politick Legislators for the support and preservation of Government, this false, this spurious Religion, brought in upon the ruins of Christianity by the Popes, hath deformed the face of Government in Europe, destroying all the good principles and Morality left us by the Heathen themselves, and introduced, instead thereof, sordid, cowardly, and impolitick Notions; whereby they have subjected Mankind, and even great Princes and States, to their own Empire, and never suffered any Orders or Maxims to take root, where they have power, that might make a Nation Wise, Honest, Great, or Wealthy. This I have set down so plainly in those passages of my Book which are complained of, that I shall say nothing at all for the proof of it in this place, but refer you thither, and come to speak a little more particularly of my first assertion, that the Pope and his Clergy have depraved Christian Religion. Upon this subject I could infinitely wish, now Letters begin to revive again, that some Learned Pen would employ itself, and that some person versed in the Chronology of the Church (as they call it) would deduce out of the Ecclesiastical Writers the time and manner how these abuses crept in, and by what arts and steps this Babel, that reaches at Heaven, was built

by these sons of the Earth. But this matter, as unsuitable to the brevity of a Letter, and indeed more to my small parts and learning, I shall not pretend to, being one who never hitherto studied or writ of Theology, further than it did naturally concern the Politicks. Therefore I shall only deal by the New Testament as I have done formerly by Titus Livius; that is, make observations or reflections upon it, and leave you and Mr. Giulio, and the rest of our Society, to make the judgment, not citing like Preachers the Chapter or Verse, because the reading of Holy Scripture is little used, and indeed hardly permitted amongst us. To begin at the top, I would have any reasonable man tell me whence this unmeasurable power, long claimed, and now possessed by the Bishop of Rome, is derived:—First of being Christ's Vicar, and by that (as I may so say) pretending to a Monopoly of the Holy Spirit, which was promised and given to the whole Church, that is, to the elect or Saints, as is plain by a Clause in St. Peter's Sermon, made the same time that the miraculous gifts of the Spirit of God were first given to the Apostles, who says to the Jews and Gentiles, *Repent and be Baptized every one of you in the Name of Jesus Christ for the remission of Sins, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost; for this promise is to you and to your Children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call.* Next, to judge infallibly of Divine Truth, and to forgive Sins as Christ did. Then to be the Head of all Ecclesiastical persons and causes in the world; to be so far above Kings and Princes, as to judge, depose, and deprive them, and to have an absolute jurisdiction over all the Affairs in Christendom, *in Ordine Spiritualia.* Yet all this the Canonists allow him, and he makes no scruple to assume, whilst it is plain in the whole New Testament there is no description made of such an Officer to be at any time in the Church, except it be in the Prophecy of the Apocalypse, or in one of St. Paul's Epistles, where he says who it is that shall sit in the Temple of God, shewing Himself that He is God. Christ tells us His Kingdom is not of this world, and if any will be the greatest amongst His Disciples, that he must be Servant to the rest; which shews that His followers were to be great in Sanctity and Humility, and not in Worldly Power.

The Apostle Paul, writing to the Christians of those times, almost in every Epistle commands them to be obedient to the

higher Powers or Magistrates set over them; and St. Peter himself (from whom this extravagant Empire is pretended to be derived), in his first Epistle, bids us submit ourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King, or, &c.; and this is enjoined although it is plain that they who governed the world in those days were both Heathen, Tyrants, and Usurpers; and in this submission there is no exception or proviso for Ecclesiastical immunity. The Practice as well as Precepts of these Holy men shews plainly that they had no intention to leave Successors who should deprive Hereditary Princes from their right of Reigning for differing in Religion, who without all doubt are, by the appointment of the Apostle and by the principles of Christianity, to be obeyed and submitted to (in things wherein the fundamental Laws of the Government give them power) though they were Jews or Gentiles. If I should tell you by what Texts in Scripture the Popes claim the Powers before mentioned, it would stir up your laughter and prove too light for so serious a matter; yet because possibly you may never have heard so much of this Subject before, I shall instance a few. They tell you, then, that the Jurisdiction they pretend over the Church, and the power of pardoning Sins, comes from Christ to St. Peter, and from him to them: *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church. I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth*, &c. From these two Texts, ridiculously applied, comes this great Tree, which hath with its Branches overspread the whole Earth, and killed all the good and wholesome Plants growing upon it. The first Text will never by any man of sense be understood to say more than that the Preaching, Suffering, and Ministry of Peter was like to be a great foundation and Pillar of the Doctrine of Christ; the other Text, as also another spoken by our Saviour to all His Apostles, *Whose sins ye remit they are remitted, and whose sins ye retain they are retained*, are by all the Primitive Fathers interpreted in this manner, Wheresoever you effectually Preach the Gospel, you shall carry with you Grace, and Remission of Sins to them which shall follow your instructions; but the people who shall not have these joyful Tidings communicated by you to them shall remain in darkness and in their Sins. But if any will

contest that by some of these last Texts that Evangelical Excommunication, which was afterwards brought into the Church by the Apostles, was here presignified by our great Master, how unlike were those censures to those now thundered out (as he calls it) by the Pope? Those were for edification and not destruction, to afflict the flesh for the salvation of the Soul; that Apostolical ordinance was pronounced for some notorious Scandal or Apostacy from the Faith. It was first decreed by the Church, that is, the whole Congregation present, and then denounced by the Pastor, and reached only to debar such person from partaking of the Communion or fellowship of that Church till repentance should readmit him, but was followed by no other prosecution or chastisement, as is now practised. But suppose all these Texts had been as they would have them, how does this make for the Successors of St. Peter or the rest? Or how can this prove the Bishops of Rome to have right to such succession? But I make haste from this subject, and shall urge but one Text more, which is, *The spiritual man judgeth all men, but is himself judged of none;* from whence is inferred by the Canonists that, first, the Pope is the Spiritual man, and then that he is to be Judge of all the world; and last, that he is never to be liable to any judgment himself. But it is obvious to the meanest understanding that St. Paul in this Text means to distinguish between a person inspired with the Spirit of God and one remaining in the state of Nature, which latter, he says, cannot judge of those Heavenly gifts and graces; as he explains himself when he says, *The Natural man cannot discern the things of the Spirit, because they are foolishness unto him.* To take my leave of this matter wholly out of the way of my Studies, I shall beg of you, Zanobio, of Giulio, and the rest of our Society to read over carefully the New Testament, and then to see what ground there is for Purgatory, by which all the wealth and greatness hath accrued to these men; what colour for the Idolatrous worship of Saints and their Images, and particularly for speaking in their hymns and prayers to a piece of wood (the Cross, I mean), *Salve Lignum*, &c., and then *fac nos dignos beneficiorum Christi*, as you may read in that Office; what colour, or rather what excuse, for that horrid, un-Christian, and barbarous Engine called the Inquisition, brought in by the command and authority of the Pope, the Inventor of

which, Peter, a Dominican Friar, having been slain amongst the Albigenses, as he well deserved, is now Canonized for a Saint and styled San Pietro Martine. In the dreadful Prisons of this Inquisition many faithful and pious Christians (to say nothing of honest moral Moors or Mahometans) are tormented and famished, or, if they outlive their sufferings, burnt publickly to death, and that only for differing in Religion from the Pope, without having any crime or the least misdemeanour proved or alledged against them; and this is inflicted upon these poor Creatures by those who profess to believe the Scripture, which tells us that Faith is the gift of God, without whose special illumination no man can obtain it, and therefore is not in reason or humanity to be punished for wanting it. And Christ Himself hath so clearly decided that point, in bidding us let the tares and the wheat grow together till the Harvest, that I shall never make any difficulty to call him Antichrist who shall use the least persecution whatsoever against any differing in matters of faith from himself, whether the person so dissenting be Heretick, Jew, Gentile, or Mahometan. Next, I beseech you to observe, in reading that Holy Book (though Christian fasts are doubtless of Divine right), what ground there is for enjoining fish to be eaten (at least flesh to be abstained from) for one-third part of the year, by which they put the poor to great hardship, who not having purses to buy wholesome fish, are subjected to all the miseries and diseases incident to a bad and unhealthful diet, whilst the rich, and chiefly themselves and their Cardinals, exceed Lucullus in their Luxury of Oysters, Turbots, tender Crabs, and Carp brought some hundreds of miles to feed their gluttony, upon these penitential days of abstinence from Beef and Pork. It may be it will lie in the way of those who observe this to inquire what St. Paul means when he says, *That in the latter days some shall depart from the faith, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving.* But all these things, and many other abuses brought in by these Perverters of Christianity, will I hope ere long be inquired into by some of the Disciples of that bold Friar, who the very same year in which I prophesied that the scourge of the Church was not far off, began to thunder against their Indulgences, and since hath questioned many tenets long received and imposed

upon the world. I shall conclude this discourse after I have said a word of the most Hellish of all the innovations brought in by the Popes, which is the Clergy. These are a sort of men, under pretence of ministering to the people in holy things, set apart and separated from the rest of mankind (from whom they have a very distinct and a very opposite interest) by a human Ceremony called by a divine name, viz., Ordination. These wherever they are found, with the whole body of the Monks and Friars, who are called the regular Clergy, make a Band which may be called the Janissaries of the Papacy. These have been the causes of all the solecisms and immoralities in Government, and all the impieties and abominations in Religion, and by consequence of all the disorder, villainy, and corruption we suffer under in this detestable Age. These men, by the Bishop of Rome's help, have crept into all the Governments in Christendom, where there is any mixture of Monarchy, and made themselves a third estate; that is, have by their temporalities (which are almost a third part of all the Lands in Europe, given them by the blind zeal, or rather folly of the Northern people, who overran this part of the world) stepped into the throne; and what they cannot perform by these secular helps and by the dependency their vassals have upon them, they fail not to claim and to usurp by the power they pretend to have from God and his Vice-gerent at Rome. They exempt themselves, their Lands and Goods, from all secular Jurisdiction, that is, from all Courts of Justice and Magistracy, and will be Judges in their own Causes, as in matter of Tithes, &c. Not content with this, they will appoint Courts of their own to decide Sovereignty in testamentary matters and many other causes, and take upon them to be the sole Punishers of many great Crimes, as Witchcraft, Sorcery, Adultery, and all uncleanness, to say nothing of the afore-mentioned judicatory of the Inquisition. In these last cases they turn the offenders over to be punished (when they have given Sentence) by the secular arm, so they call the Magistrate who is blindly to execute their decrees under pain of Hell-fire, as if Christian Princes and Governours were appointed only by God to be their Bravos or Hangmen. They give protection and Sanctuary to all execrable offenders, even to Murderers themselves (whom God commanded to be indispensably punished with death), if they come within their Churches, Cloisters, or any other place

which they will please to call Holy ground; and if the ordinary justice, nay, the Sovereign power, do proceed against such offender, they thunder out their Excommunication; that is, cut off from the body of Christ, not the Prince only, but the whole Nation and People, shutting the Church doors, and commanding divine Offices to cease, and sometimes even authorizing the people to rise up in Arms and constrain their Governours to a submission. So it happened to this poor City in the time of our Ancestors, when for but forbidding the servant of a poor Carmelite Friar (who had vowed poverty, and should have kept none) to go armed, and punishing his disobedience with imprisonment, our whole Senate with their Gonfaloniere were constrained to go to Avignon for absolution, and in case of refusal, had been massacred by the people. It would almost astonish a wise man to imagine how these folk should acquire an Empire so destructive to Christian Religion and so pernicious to the interests of men; but it will not seem so miraculous to those who shall seriously consider that the Clergy hath been for more than this thousand years upon the catch, and a formed united corporation against the purity of Religion and the interest of mankind. They have not only wrested the Holy Scriptures to their own advantage (which they have kept from the laity in unknown languages, and by prohibiting the reading thereof), but made use likewise first of the blind devotion and ignorance of the Goths, Vandals, Huns, &c., and since of the ambition and avarice of Christian Princes, stirring them up one against another, and sending them upon foolish errands to the Holy Land, to lose their lives and to leave their Dominions, in the meantime, exposed to themselves and their Complices. They have besides kept Learning and Knowledge amongst themselves, stifling the light of the Gospel, crying down Moral virtues as splendid sins, defacing humane policy, destroying the purity of the Christian faith and profession, and all that was virtuous, prudent, regular, and orderly upon earth. So that whoever would do good and good men service, get himself immortal honour in this life and eternal glory in the next, and would restore the good policy (I had almost said with my Author Livy the sanctity too) of the Heathens, with all their valour and other glorious endownments; I say, whoever would do this must make himself powerful enough to extirpate this cursed and apostate

race out of the world. And that you may see this is lawful as well as necessary, I shall add but one word of their calling and original, and then leave this subject. The word Clergy is a term wholly unknown to the Scriptures, otherwise than in this sense: a peculiar People or God's lot, used often for the whole Jewish Nation, who are likewise called a Kingdom of Priests in some places. In the New Testament the word *Cleros* is taken for the true Believers, who are also called the Elect, and often the Church, which is the Assembly of the faithful met together, as is easily seen by reading the beginning of most of St. Paul's Epistles, where writing to the Church, or Churches, he usually explains himself, *To all the Saints in Christ;* sometimes, *To all who have obtained like faith with us;* sometimes, *To all who in all places call upon the Name of the Lord Jesus*, &c. By which it appears that neither the word Church nor Clergy was in those days ever appropriated to the Pastors or Elders of the flock, but did signifie indifferently all the people assembled together; which is likewise the literal construction of the word *Ecclesia*, which is an assembly or meeting. In these Congregations or Churches was performed their Ordination, which properly signifies no more than a decree of such Assembly, but is particularly used for an Election of any into the Ministry. The manner was this: sometimes the Apostles themselves in their Peregrinations, and sometimes any other eminent Member of the Church, did propose to the Society (upon vacancy, or other necessity of a Pastor, Elder, or Deacon) some good Holy man to be elected; which person if he had parts or gifts, such as the Church could edifie by, was chosen by the lifting up of hands, that is, by suffrage; and oftentimes hands were laid upon him and Prayer made for him. These men so set apart did not pretend to any consecration or sacredness more than they had before, much less to become a distinct thing from the rest of mankind, as if they had been metamorphosed, but did attend to perform the several functions of their calling, as prophesying, that is, Preaching the Gospel, visiting the sick, &c. They never intermitted the ordinary business of their Trade or Profession unless their Church or Congregation was very numerous, in which case they were maintained by alms or contribution, which was laid aside by every member, and collected the first day of the week by the Deacons. This was said to be given

to the Church, and was designed by suffrage of the whole Collective Body to the poor and to other incidences, so far was it from Sacrilege in those days to employ Church goods to Lay uses. From these words, Church, Clergy, Ordination, Pastor (which last hath been translated of late years Bishop), you see what conclusions these men have deduced, and how immense a structure they have raised upon so little a foundation. You see how easily it will fall to the ground when God shall inspire Christian Princes and States to redeem His truths, and His poor enslaved Members out of their Churches, to bring back again into the world the true original Christian faith, with the Apostolical Churches, Pastors, and Ordination, so consistent with moral virtue and integrity, so helpful and conducing to the best and most prudent Policy, so fitted for obedience to Magistracy and Government. All this the world hath for many years been deprived of by the execrable and innate ill quality which is inseparable from Priestcraft and the conjuration or spell of their new-invented ordination, by which they cry with the Poet :—

Jam furor humanum nostro de pectore sensum
Expulit et totum spirant præcordia Phœbum ;

which makes them so Sacred and Holy, that they have nothing of integrity, or indeed of humanity, left in them. I hope I shall not be thought impious any longer upon this point, I mean for vindicating Christian Religion from the assaults of these men, who having the confidence to believe, or at least profess, themselves the only instruments which God hath chosen or can choose to teach and reform the world (though they have neither Moral virtues nor Natural parts equal to other men for the most part), have by this pretence prevailed so far upon the common sort of people, and upon some too of a better quality, that they are persuaded their salvation or eternal damnation depends upon believing or not believing what they say. I would not be understood to dissuade any from honouring the true Apostolical Teachers, when they shall be re-established amongst us, or from allowing them (even of right, and not of alms or courtesie) such emoluments as may enable them cheerfully to perform the duties of their charge, to provide for their children, and even to use

hospitality as they are commanded by St. Paul. But this I will prophesie before I conclude, that if Princes shall perform this business by halves, and leave any root of this Clergy or Priest-craft, as it now is, in the ground; or if that famous Reformer, fled some years since out of Picardy to Geneva, who is of so great renown for learning and parts, and who promises us so perfect a Reformation, shall not in his model wholly extirpate this sort of men, then I say I must foretell, that as well the Magistrate as this Workman will find themselves deceived in their expectation, and that the least fibre of this plant will overrun again the whole Vineyard of the Lord, and turn to a diffusive Papacy in every Diocese, perhaps in every Parish. So that God in His mercy inspire them to cut out the core of the ulcer and the bag of this imposture, that it may never rankle or fester any more, nor break out hereafter, to diffuse new corruption and putrefaction through the body of Christ, which is His Holy Church, nor to vitiate and infect the good order and true policy of Government.

I come now to the last branch of my charge, which is, that I teach Princes villainy, and how to enslave and oppress their Subjects. In this accusation I am dealt with as poor Agnolo Canini was, who, as they report, being a very learned Practiser of the Laws, and left the only man of this profession, one Autumn, in our City, the rest of the Advocates being fled into the Country for fear of a contagious Disease which then reigned, was commanded by our Judges to assist with his Counsel both parties, and to draw Pleas as well for the Defendant as the Plaintiff, else the Courts of Justice must have been shut up. In the same manner my accusers handle me, and make me first exhort and teach Subjects to throw off their Princes, and then to instruct Monarchs how to enslave and oppress them. But I did not expect such ingratitude from mine own Citizens, or to be served as Moses was, when he was upbraided for killing the Egyptian, by one of his own people for whose sake he had done it, whereas he believed they would have understood by that action that he was the person whom God intended to make use of in delivering them from the horrid slavery they were then under. If any man will read over my Book of "the Prince" with impartiality and ordinary charity, he will easily perceive that it is not my intention to recommend that Government or those men there described

to the world, much less to teach them to trample upon good men, and all that is sacred and venerable upon earth, Laws, Religion, Honesty, and what not. If I have been a little too punctual in designing these Monsters, and drawn them to the life in all their lineaments and colours, I hope mankind will know them the better to avoid them, my Treatise being both a Satire against them and a true Character of them. I speak nothing of great and honourable Princes, as the Kings of France, England, and others, who have the States and Orders of their Kingdoms with excellent Laws and Constitution to found and maintain their Government, and who reign over the hearts as well as the persons of their subjects. I speak only of those vermin bred out of the corruption of our own small Commonwealth and Cities, or engendered by the ill blasts that come from Rome, Olivaretto da Fermo, Borgia, the Baglioni, the Bentivoglii, and an hundred others; who having had neither right nor honourable means to bring them to their power, use it with more violence, rapine, and cruelty upon the poor people than those other renowned Princes shew to the Boars, the Wolves, the Foxes, and other savage beasts, which are the objects of their chase and hunting. Whosoever in his Empire over men is tied to no other rules than those of his own will and lust, must either be a Saint to moderate his passions, or else a very Devil incarnate. Or if he be neither of these, both his life and reign are like to be very short; for whosoever takes upon him so execrable an employment as to rule men against the Laws of Nature and of Reason must turn all topsy-turvy, and never stick at anything, for if once he halt, he will fall and never rise again. I hope after this I need say little to justifie myself from the calumny of advising these Monsters to break their faith, since to keep it is to lose their Empire; faithfulness and sincerity being their mortal enemies. An Uguccione della Faggivola, to one who upbraided him that he never employed honest men, answered, Honest men will cut my Throat; let the King use honest men; meaning the King of Naples, who was established in his Throne, and had a right to it. But that I may have occasion to justifie myself against a little more than I am accused of, I will confess that in a work where I desired to be a little more serious than I was in this Book of "the Prince," I did affirm that in what way soever men defended their Country, whether by

breaking or keeping their faith, it was ever well defended; not meaning in a strict moral sense or point of honour, but explaining myself that *de facto* the infamy of the breach of word would quickly be forgotten and pardoned by the world; which is very true. Nay, what if I had said that good success in any enterprize, a far less consideration than Piety to our Country, would have cancelled the blame of such perfidy as Cæsar (whom I compare to Catiline) used toward his fellow-Citizens, not only not detested by posterity, but even crowned with renown and immortal fame; insomuch as Princes to this day (as I have observed elsewhere) think it an honour to be compared to him, and the highest pitch of veneration their flatterers can arrive at is to call them by the name of one who violated his faith and enslaved his Country. I hope that in shewing as well these Tyrants as the poor People who are forced to live under them their danger; that is, by laying before the former the hellish and precipitous courses they must use to maintain their power, by representing to the latter what they must suffer; I may be instrumental, first, to deter private Citizens from attempting upon the liberties of their Country, or if they have done it, to make them lay down their ill-gotten authority; and then to warn the rest of the Nobility and People from these factions and malignancies in their several Commonwealths and Governments, which might give hope and opportunity to those who are ambitious amongst them to aspire to an Empire over them. However it prove, I hope I am no more to be blamed for my attempt than that excellent Physician of our Nation is, who hath lately taken so much pains to compose an excellent Treatise of that foul Disease which was not long since brought from the new world into these parts; wherein though he be forced to use such expressions as are almost able to nauseate his Readers, and talk of such Ulcers, Boils, Nodes, Botches, Cankers, &c., that are scarce fit to be repeated, especially when he handles the causes of those effects, yet he did not intend to teach or exhort men to get this Disease, much less did he bring this lamentable infirmity into the world; but he describes it faithfully as it is to the end men may be bettered, and avoid the being infected with it, and may discern and cure it whenever their incontinence and folly shall procure it them. I shall say no more in this matter, but, to conclude all, make a protestation

that, as well in this Book as in all my other Writings, my only scope and design is to promote the interest and welfare of mankind, and the peace and quiet of the world; both which I am so vain as to believe would be better obtained and provided for if the principles I lay down were followed and observed by Princes and People than they are like to be by those Maxims which are in this Age most in vogue. For myself, I shall only say (and call you all to witness for the truth of it) that as by my Birth I am a Gentleman, and of a Family which hath had many Gonfaloniers of Justice in it, so I have been used in many employments of great trust, both in our City and abroad, and at this hour I am not in my Estate one penny the better for them all, nor should I have been although I had never suffered any losses by the seizure of my Estate in the year 1531. For my carriage, it hath ever been void of faction and contention. I never had any prejudice against the House of Medici, but honoured the persons of all those of that Family whom I knew, and the memory of such of them as lived before me, whom I acknowledge to have been excellent Patriots and Pillars of our City and Commonwealth. During the turbulent times of Piero and after his expulsion out of Florence, though my employments were but Ministerial, my advice was asked in many grave matters, which I ever delivered with impartiality and indifference, not espousing the heady opinions of any, much less their passions and animosities. I never sided with any party further than that the duty of my charge obliged me to serve the prevailing party when possessed of the Government of our City. This I speak for those changes which happened between the flight of the said Piero de' Medici and the horrid Parricide committed by Clement VII. upon his indulgent Mother, joining with his greatest enemies, and uniting himself with those who had used the most transcendent insolence to his own person, and the highest violence and fury the Sun ever saw to his poor Courtiers and subjects, that so accompanied he might sheath his Sword in the bowels of his own desolate Country. At that time, and during the whole Siege, I must confess I did break the confines of my neutrality, and not only acted as I was commanded barely, but roused myself and stirred up others, haranguing, in the Streets and Places of the City, the People to defend with the last drop of their blood the walls of their Country and the Liberty of their

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